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The Nation.

January 3-10, 1981 $1

WITHDRAWN

DITORIAL

NEW-FOUND FRIENDS

ccording to Alexander Haig, "It neither serves ıe purpose of social justice nor the vital interests of America to pursue policies under the ıbric of human rights which have the practical ɔnsequences of driving authoritarian regimes iendly to the West into totalitarian models here they will remain in a state of permanent ıimosity to the American people and our interests." Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Reagan's choice ı represent the United States at the United Naɔns, holds similar views, complaining that the arter Administration criticized "moderate ıtocrats friendly to American interests" like ıe Shah of Iran and General Somoza.

"Authoritarian regimes"? "Moderate autoats"? What about systematic torture and mass urder? Is the fact that a torturer or a murderer "friendly to American interests" all that matrs? How do they serve our interests? Indeed, hat interests do we have that make us need ıch friends? As the saying goes, with friends ɛe these, who needs enemies?

Citing events in El Salvador, South Korea and aiti, seventy-one prominent American relious leaders recently issued a statement pointing ıt that a "wave of terror in so-called 'friendly' ɔuntries threatens to result in an international oodbath which will be the shame of the 'estern world." The religious leaders said they ere not asking Reagan "to impose U.S. standds on other nations but to condemn practices at are recognized as crimes by the entire ıman community." We join in that call, and e urge leaders of business, labor, education, urnalism, the arts and other sectors of Ameriın society to do the same. On the evidence of ıtements by the people the President-elect has ıosen to direct American foreign policy, he will ıve to hear that call from many voices if it is to ıve any effect.

REMARKS AT THE BRINK
Olof Palme

ANTI-TRUST-BUSTING
Mark Green

REAGAN AND ENERGY
Kerry O'Banion

'NIGHTFROST IN PRAGUE'
Charles Sawyer

SOUTH AFRICAN CENSORSHIP
Tamar Jacoby

HAVANA NIGHTS
Joe Flaherty

WHAT DID HE KNOW . . .

WATERGATE QUESTIONS FOR HAIG

J. ANTHONY LUKAS

A good general, like a good Boy Scout, is always prepared. So when the first reporter rose at a December 22 news conference to question Secretary of State-designate Alexander Haig about his role in the Watergate episode, the former General was ready with a delaying tactic.

"These are topics in any event," he said, "which members of the Senate will wish to explore with me and I am prepared to do my very best to answer their questions across the full gamut of their concern and I would prefer in any event to leave the first question on these topics to the members of the Foreign Relations Committee."

This was sound strategy. For it gave Haig several additional weeks to prepare for the expected assault by members of the Democratic minority on the Senate committee. Surely he has used the interim to shore up every anticipated breach in his defenses. Considering the central role that Haig, if confirmed, would play in shaping the Reagan foreign policy, one can only hope that Democratic Senators have used the holiday season to equal advantage.

As a modest contribution to such preparations, we suggest that Senators may wish to pose one or more of the following questions:

(*1*) Mr. Haig, perhaps we should begin by examining your role in the wiretapping of seventeen persons between 1969 and 1971. The officials involved in this enterprise have subsequently sought to blame one another for its initiation. Henry Kissinger, who was National Security Adviser at the time, has suggested that Federal Bureau of Investigation Director

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EXCHANGE.

FEMINISTS AND PORN

Plainfield, New Hampshire

Some feminists have created a clamor over *Ordeal*, Linda Lovelace's supposedly truthful account of how she was brutally coerced into becoming the star of *Deep Throat*. They believe that most women who appear in pornography are coerced. There is no evidence for this belief, but a lot of feminists hold fast to it anyway. Why? Well, if most women who appear in pornography do so against their will, there is a justification for censorship and for blaming the current pornography boom on men. In short, feminists have called attention to *Ordeal* because Lovelace's tale of victimization "fits their ideology."

The preceding is the gist of the thesis advanced in *The Nation* by Aryeh Neier ["Memoirs of a Woman's Displeasure," August 16-23, 1980]. It's a provocative thesis, one which no doubt reassured many readers that the women in the feminist antipornography movement are nothing but a bunch of man-hating ninnies. There is, however, a problem with Neier's thesis: It rests on two premises, neither of which he backs up with facts. Nowhere does Neier substantiate his claim that feminists believe Lovelace is representative of many or most women who appear in pornography. Instead, Neier *presumes* that certain feminists hold this belief, which he then labels "a new development in feminist thought." And in his attempt to discredit this so-called new development in feminist thought, Neier again cites no facts. Instead, he says simply, "To my knowledge, there is no evidence that what used to be called 'white slavery' is widely practiced in the United States today," and drops the question of evidence at that.

Had Neier bothered to check out some facts, I think he would have discovered that his knowledge of both "feminist thought" and the pornography industry is limited. First, only those who are completely ignorant of today's highly diversified and diffuse $4-billion-a-year pornography industry would ever claim that any one woman is representative of all or many of the other women in the industry. Large numbers of women who appear in porn, especially in soft-core porn, do so quite willingly, and members of groups like Women Against Pornography—who, by the way, are *not* in agreement about censorship—do not deny this fact. Nor do they claim, as Neier says they claim, that "the fault is exclusively male." Plenty of women, most notably *High Society* publisher Gloria Leonard and *Playboy*'s Christie Hefner, are themselves pornographers, and these women have been criticized by feminists.

Sadism for Sale

Had Neier checked out some facts, perhaps he also would have discovered that his slick thesis confuses the human-rights issues raised by *Ordeal* entirely. Though Neier apparently thinks white slavery would be a problem only if it were *widely* practiced, there are those who think it would be a problem if it were practiced at all—and who believe there's reason to fear that it is being practiced. For just as a look at the literally thousands of porn magazines, movies and videotapes on the market today proves that Lovelace definitely does not speak for all women in pornography, it certainly suggests she might very well speak for some.

Take, for starters, some of the acts performed by women in a random sampling of the hundreds of films and videotapes shown in peep shows and sold via advertisements in newsstand-variety magazines like *Swank* and *Video X*. The acts I'm referring to here are not simply acts like anal intercourse with bananas and vaginal intercourse with bottles, snakes and knives, though these are common enough. What I'm referring to here are films in which women fellate and have intercourse with horses, dogs and sheep, in which women mutilate themselves and are mutilated by others, in which men urinate in women's mouths and the women "hungrily drink it all up," in which women are subjected to "enema torture" and/or defecated on, and in which women are, to use a few film titles, *Roped and Raped*, *Whipped Wet* and *Tied Up Tight*. Perhaps the women who appear in these films do so quite freely. Unless one subscribes to the belief that women, to use another title, are *Slaves to Pain*, however, I think there's room for doubt.

The nearly twenty thousand so-called adult bookstores currently doing business in the United States also contain ample evidence that, at the very least, *suggests* some women who appe in pornography are coerced an brutalized. Of course, not all po nographic magazines feature violenc But many hard-core publication feature nothing but violence. Certainl it's possible that the women who ar shown bound, gagged, bloodied an hanging by chains, ropes and, yes, eve meathooks in these magazines may hav chosen to participate quite freely. But taking note of the not so curious fac that many of these women's faces ar blurred, turned from the camera, o hidden entirely by "bondage hoods" and "discipline helmets," again I think there's room for doubt. And one thing is beyond doubt: These women are not pretending to be in bondage, *they are in bondage*. The point here is that once someone is tied up and gagged, terms like "exercise of free will" and "choice" pretty much lose their meaning.

The term "free will" has no meaning at all when it comes to the appearance of children in pornography. Another important fact that seems to have escaped Neier is that, as far as children are concerned, there is absolutely no question that white slavery is being practiced today—and fairly widely, too. Internationally, 264 different "kiddie porn" periodicals are being published at present, and more than one million children are believed to be part of the burgeoning kiddie porn trade. Here in the United States alone, between 40 and 60 percent of the one million minors who run away from home each year end up in the sex industry, either for single stints or extended periods.

Yet even these figures don't illustrate the extent to which children are being exploited and abused. As it so happens, most kiddie porn consists not of periodicals (which can be counted), but of innumerable photo packets and films sold under the counter or by mail. Furthermore, many of the children who appear in pornography are not runaways but homebodies whose own parents are pushing them into porn. . . .

Now that I've at least *begun* to answer some of the questions of fact raised by Neier's article, I have a question of my own: Just what is Neier driving at when he alleges that feminists are calling attention to *Ordeal* because Lovelace's tale of victimization "fits

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EDITORIALS.

The Wraps Are Off

Let there be no illusions about the nature of the new Government of the United States, composed of Reagan et al. (and especially Al Haig), and the 97th Congress. Forget the honeymoon. Dismiss the notion that the Presidency ennobles. Prepare for the very worst.

The signs are as clear as they could be that we are about to have a Government that will hide a regressive and repressive domestic policy behind an aggressive and adventurous foreign policy. It will be a quite unified Government, not one in which the "out" party in the legislature has the will and the power to check the "ins." The Democrats in the one chamber they will dominate—the House, where appropriations must originate—seem without doctrine, spirit or heart for resistance. Their shattered ranks appear disposed to compromise with what is, accepting the notion of the "conservative" drift.

But the new governing apparatus is not conservative in any serious sense. It does not mean to preserve what is valuable in the national heritage. It openly prepares to destroy that and to substitute . . . what? In a word, to sweat the disadvantaged in order to try to re-create an enlightened capitalism that never existed, even in the last century. It is a nostalgic sham, or scam, whose sole beneficiaries will be the conglomerate corporations whose behavior makes the Steel Trust and railroad barons of yore seem like responsible citizens.

What will be tossed out is what the new budgeteer, David Stockman, calls the "social pork barrel." That means slashes through unemployment compensation, school lunches and all the palliatives that have made late capitalism barely bearable. And if the 10 to 30 percent tax cuts for the rich fail to stimulate a productivity bonanza overnight (as they surely will), and the troubles hit the streets, then we can count on the police and Army to enforce and restore law and order.

On the evidence of the Cabinet choices and the radical

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policy formulations of the "transition," there seems little doubt about where Reaganism is heading. We had better start preparing to resist. The interlude of spurious hope is over.

Road to Fascism

During Cold War I, the journalist-historian William Shirer, drawing on his experience in Berlin as the Nazis prepared to take over Germany, speculated in *The Nation* that the United States might well be the first country in history to go fascist democratically. I suppose the results of the November elections signify something along the lines of what he had in mind, even if you have to stretch the word "democratically" a good bit to characterize an election in which about 52 percent of the voting population went to the polls.

Of course, no laws prevented the other 48 percent from doing likewise. Nevertheless, approximately seventy-seven million citizens were somehow moved to disenfranchise themselves and thereby permit a minority to make crucial, perhaps fateful, decisions about the makeup of the governing apparatus over the next few years. I don't mean to say that if the seventy-seven million, or some fraction thereof, had voted, the outcome would necessarily have been different—or, being different, would really have been more satisfactory from the point of view of the general welfare. No doubt many or most of the seventy-seven million felt as did the delegates to the convention of the independent United Electrical Workers (U.E.) who, shortly before the elections, approved a resolution declaring that they found it impossible, given the records of Carter, Reagan and Anderson, to endorse any one of them.

Foreseeing that millions of Americans would refrain from voting out of anger, alienation, disillusionment, frustration and so on, the convention delegates called for the creation of an independent political party, presumably to be composed of the groups that formed the mass liberal base of the Democratic Party in New Deal days: working people, small-business men, farmers, blacks, ethnic minorities and progressive intellectuals.

Ever since 1946, the prime political objective of those described by Franklin Roosevelt as "economic royalists" has been to counter the threat which they felt this coalition posed to their power, privilege and profits. Thus, as economist Paul Sweezy wrote in a recent issue of *Monthly Review*, of which he is co-editor, they combined "to launch a vast and unprecedentedly ruthless campaign of political and ideological repression which has come down in history under the name of McCarthyism." As one of the first unions formed in a mass-production industry in the 1930s (and also one of the first to be subjected to merciless attack by corporations, government and media under this campaign of repression), the U.E. has earned the right to speak as it did editorially in the October 27, 1980, issue of its official organ, *UE News*:

> The best thing that could happen after this election would be for those forces which are disgusted with the present candidates and their policies to begin to build a movement for genuine independent political action. This will have to be a rank-and-file movement, arising in communities, in cities, in states, and building up gradually. It cannot be delayed until the eve of another national election.

Now, with prominent Democrats pledging to "cooperate" with President-elect Reagan, and a lame-duck Democratically-controlled Congress promptly passing a $161-billion military appropriation, we have, it seems, entered upon a speed-up in the classic fascist evolution Shirer pointed out back in Cold War I.

Because the "economic royalists," whether working through the Republican or the Democratic Party, regard expenditures for war preparation as the solution to their economic problems. And with the help of the media they have influenced a number of Americans to believe that *their* real economic problems—unemployment, inflation, intolerable taxes—can similarly be solved. Leaving aside the danger of war that such expenditures and preparations pose to the world, leaving aside, too, the question of their effectiveness as a solution to economic problems, the fact remains that, politically speaking, there is no way of challenging this state of affairs so long as the two established major parties monopolize the system. Party labels, as the U.E., among others, points out, have actually become meaningless. A much more realistic perspective on our political competition can be founded upon the mathematics of the elections just past. We now have two evident political "parties," consisting on the one hand of about eighty-three million who vote and on the other of about seventy-seven million who don't.

Probably elements of the New Deal coalition exist in each of these parties. At any rate, what the elections offer is final proof of the inability of the Democratic Party to continue to represent the interests of folks making up the liberal coalition, which has been not so much destroyed as suppressed, rendered silent. It is important to remember, just the same, that it was suppressed and silent fifty years ago, before the elections of 1932. Conditions created by the failure of capitalism to secure "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" for the masses of the people brought the coalition into being. It is likely, maybe inevitable, that in the 1980s the failures of capitalism will generate conditions requiring reforms even more unpalatable to the rulers of the economy than those associated with the New Deal. That being the case, the need for a new independent political party, capable of devising reforms and legislating them "by popular demand," becomes apparent. The alternative to fascism American-style, in short, is democracy American-style. To reverse the implication of the title of Sinclair Lewis's 1935 novel about home-grown fascism, democracy can happen here. And, I think, it will. JAMES HIGGINS

James Higgins was editor of The Gazette and Daily *of York, Pennsylvania, from 1950 to 1970. He has just completed ten years as associate professor of journalism at Boston University and is now an independent writer.*

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Haig

ɔntinued From Front Cover)

Edgar Hoover sought the wiretaps because he suspected loyalty of several bright young men on Kissinger's staff. B.I. officials have argued that Kissinger himself initiated taps either to demonstrate his own loyalty to Nixon or other political reasons. In any case, as Kissinger's chief puty, you were the principal intermediary between the ıtional Security Council and the Federal Bureau of Instigation on the wiretapping. On May 10, 1969, you called the F.B.I.'s Assistant Director, William Sullivan, and esented him with the names of the first four officials to be ɔpped. Subsequently, according to F.B.I. records, you supied eight more names to Sullivan and you visited him on veral other occasions to review results of the taps. Doesn't is suggest that Kissinger was by no means a reluctant partr in the wiretaps and that you—as N.S.C. operations ofɛr for the program—bear considerable responsibility for improper, not to mention illegal, operation which formed a major count in the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment of Nixon?

(2) When confronted with such questions in the past you, in turn, have tried to put full responsibility on Kissinger. In 1974, you told this committee, "I never would have submitted a name that I did not get from Dr. Kissinger or from the President with Dr. Kissinger's knowledge." But is there available anywhere the slightest evidence that you ever objected to this illegal program of eavesdropping? Indeed, isn't there evidence to the contrary, suggesting that you approved, indeed applauded, that effort? For example, on June 4, 1969, less than a month after the first taps were installed, didn't you write a "talking points" memo to Kissinger suggesting that he express "appreciation to Mr. Hoover and Mr. Sullivan for their outstanding support in recent weeks in uncovering security problems within the N.S.C. staff"?

(3) Seven of those wiretapped were members of the N.S.C. staff while you served on the council. Did you ever find it distasteful to request wiretaps on men with whom you worked daily?

(4) On May 4, 1973, Mr. Haig, you replaced Bob Haldeman as President Nixon's Chief of Staff. In that capacity, you assumed the responsibility, previously borne by Haldeman and Ehrlichman, for orchestrating the Administration's defense against Watergate revelations. In the performance of this function, for example, you supervised several efforts to use selectively edited White House tapes to exonerate the President of wrongdoing. On one of these tapes, you are heard advising the President to avoid an accurate account, prompting him, "You just can't recall . . ." Mr. Haig, do not these and other activities constitute a form of cover-up, not as serious perhaps as those committed earlier by various White House aides, but a knowing cover-up nonetheless?

(5) Coming now to the famous Saturday Night Massacre of October 1973, were you not the originator of the so-called "Stennis plan," under which the aged and compliant Senator from Mississippi would verify the accuracy of the edited, and plainly inaccurate, transcripts? And, when that plan failed to satisfy the Special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox, were you not the one who ordered Attorney General Elliot Richardson to fire Cox? When Richardson resigned rather than carry out this order, did you then not order Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus to fire Cox? When Ruckelshaus also resigned, did you not then order Solicitor General Robert Bork to get rid of Cox, an order with which Bork finally complied? And did you not then order F.B.I. men to seal the Special Prosecutor's office to prevent Cox and his loyal aides from taking any evidence with them? Mr. Haig, is all this not further proof of your role in the White House cover-up?

(6) Let us turn now, Mr. Haig, to the final weeks of the Nixon Administration. By August 1, 1974, Richard Nixon had decided to resign. At 3:30 that afternoon, you called on Vice President Gerald Ford in the Executive Office Building. At that meeting you summarized the devastating revelations about to surface, told Ford he should be prepared to take over as President "within a very short time," and then presented six "options" available to Nixon. Two options—both of which involved Nixon pardoning himself before resigning—were clearly unacceptable to the Vice President, who would then be assuming office amid a predictable uproar among press and public. But a third option which you presented called for Nixon to be pardoned after resigning and, as we all know, Ford did pardon Nixon a month after his resignation. You and Ford have repeatedly denied that you made any deal that afternoon and there is some evidence to support you. For when three of Ford's aides—Robert Hartmann, Bryce Harlow and Jack Marsh—discovered what you had broached that day, they warned Ford that it could endanger his Presidency (Hartmann thought you were guilty of a "monstrous impropriety"). At their suggestion, Ford called you on August 2 to say, "nothing we talked about yesterday afternoon should be given any consideration in whatever decision the President may wish to make." According to Ford, you responded, "You're right." But, Mr. Haig, even though you may have reached no explicit agreement, weren't you improper in even suggesting to the Vice President that the price of his assuming the Presidency might be an agreement to pardon his predecessor, your boss?

(7) When William Ruckelshaus hesitated to fire Archibald Cox, you told him, "Your Commander in Chief has given you an order." When William Watt, a member of the N.S.C. staff, resigned rather than help carry out the invasion of Cambodia, you told him, "You've just had an order from your Commander in Chief." Mr. Haig, is there any order from your Commander in Chief that you would refuse to carry out?

J. Anthony Lukas, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, is the author of Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years *(Viking). He is currently working on a book about the lives of three Boston families.*

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ITEM. ITEM. ITEM.

■ **Who says the Reagan people are opposed to liberation movements in Third World countries? Although he probably doesn't like to be reminded of it, Richard V. Allen, Reagan's national security adviser, was once involved with a group known as the Front for the Liberation of the Azores (F.L.A.). Allen's not soft on human rights, we hasten to say. The F.L.A. was impeccably right wing, and its cause drew a curious hodgepodge of gangsters, Azorian exiles, a Russian émigré, Senator Strom Thurmond, financier Robert Vesco, Secret Army Organization (O.A.S.) agents and American financiers.**

It was founded by rightist opponents of the revolution that kicked out the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974 (Jonathan Marshall of *Inquiry* tells us). The F.L.A. urged that the islands secede, and a clandestine government in exile was set up. It was headed by a Frenchman named Jean-Denis Raingeard, a veteran of the O.A.S. and a reputed gunrunner and mercenary. Raingeard's American "liaison man" for financing the movement, according to a story by Brian McTigue and Fred Strassner in *Boston* magazine, was Victor Fediay, a Russian émigré, former Air Force intelligence officer and staff assistant to Senator Thurmond, who, Fediay later explained, "was eager to help them. He got in touch with all the agencies of the government, the C.I.A., whatever." Fediay solicited help from a New York businessman whose partner was linked to the Joe Columbo crime family. The businessman agreed to provide financial backing in return for a promise of unlimited rights to establish casino gambling on the islands.

That was too much for many Azorians, and the F.L.A. eventually petered out as Portugal moved right. Allen's role in all this was as the secessionists' contact man with the Washington bureaucracy, according to *The Boston Globe*; he also looked into the possibility of making the Azores an offshore haven for his client Robert Vesco's Investors Overseas Services and other offshore mutual funds. In a traditional administration, Allen's private lobbying for a combine of ultra-right mercenaries and mobsters would be reason enough to deny him any role in American foreign policy. In a Reagan Administration, however, extremism in the pursuit of business presumably is no vice.

■ The final days of the 96th Congress provided a brief, unsettling preview of what we might expect in the 97th: a renewed attack on civil liberties in the name of exposing terrorists, Communists and other subversives. By a unanimous voice vote, the Senate added a rider to the continuing appropriation bill that would have denied CETA funds to anyone who advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. The measure was aimed at Allen and Dorothy Blitz of Martinsville, Virginia, who were fired from their jobs after participating in the Greensboro, North Carolina, demonstration that ended in the deaths of five of their Communist Workers Party comrades. When the jobless Blitzes signed up for a local CETA employment-training program, their Congressman, W. C. (Dan) Daniel, was outraged. Daniel, a conservative Democrat and former national co mander of the American Legion, persuaded Senators Ha Byrd and Ernest Hollings to introduce the rider. Its s porters, however, were not all conservatives. Sena William Proxmire spoke out for the rider on the Sen floor, stating, "I don't know how anybody would possi object to this amendment." Questioned about his vote John Rosenberg of *The Nation*, Proxmire said that t payers have no obligation to pay people who advocate violent overthrow of the Government.

The rider was ultimately stripped from the bill before passed, but the logic that allows Congress to bar CE funds to those who advocate revolution would also allow to bar food stamps, welfare, veterans' benefits, perha even personal income tax deductions. Of course, Congr would need a test to establish who should be barred fun Loyalty oaths come most readily to mind, and the Fede Bureau of Investigation and its pack of informers wou have to be set loose again. Congress would also need sor sort of oversight committee—say, H.U.A.C., or the n Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism—to monitor Federal programs for compliance. Senator Proxmire, who took Joe McCarthy's seat in the Senate, said that "clear evidence" of advocacy of violent overthrow would be required, but he did not explain how the letter and spirit of McCarthyism could be avoided in enforcing such a program—or why "advocacy" is a crime.

■ **The sordid scenario of torture is played out a hundred, perhaps a thousand times a day in any of forty different countries—most of which are signatories of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. Aside from its immediate, often lingering, physical consequences, however, torture also has psychological aftereffects, and its victims, like the victims of war, rape, crime or natural disaster, need rehabilitation. Many suffer from deep depression, anxiety, attacks of blind fear and recurrent nightmares in which they relive their anguish. They become frustrated, withdrawn and aggressive by turns. This triggers hostile or withdrawn behavior that alienates employers, families and friends. The children of torture victims are also traumatized.**

Now, a pioneering Danish medical team, working with Amnesty International, has made a comprehensive study of the symptoms and effects of torture—the result of more than five years of research, reports British journalist Marika Frank. Last month, the Danish group presented a blueprint for coping with torture's psychic aftershocks to a meeting of Amnesty International in London. As a result, a pilot rehabilitation center will be set up in Copenhagen, staffed by doctors and psychiatrists. The hope is to establish more halfway houses in countries such as Sweden, Denmark, France and Canada, where torture victims often take refuge. An appeal for funds to finance such centers will be made to United Nations bodies by a group of doctors involved (Amnesty International's charter forbids its participation). It is an idea, we deeply regret to say, whose time has come.

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ARTICLES.

■ REMARKS AT THE BRINK

The Slick Slide Into Armageddon

OLOF PALME

The face of war is ugly, always ugly. Two weeks ago, I was standing in the town of Dizful, not far from the border between Iran and Iraq. It is biblical land, near the Euphrates and the Tigris, ot far from Babylon and Nineveh. Here an ancient civiliza- on flourished 4,000 years ago. Here the armies of Cyrus ie Great, Alexander and Genghis Khan passed by. Not far om here the Caliph—Harun al-Rashid of *Arabian Nights* ime—reigned. Now again it belongs to the richest regions n this earth. Oil is plentiful beneath the desert.

Rockets had pounded Dizful; some in the day, some at ight. One had destroyed forty or fifty houses. Many had een killed. People were still clearing up in the rubble. One ound had struck a school. The children's textbooks were till lying around, along with shoes, scrapbooks, notes and drawings.

That scene in Dizful, Iran, could just as easily have been observed in Iraq. The face of war is ugly. Therefore we must always work for peace.

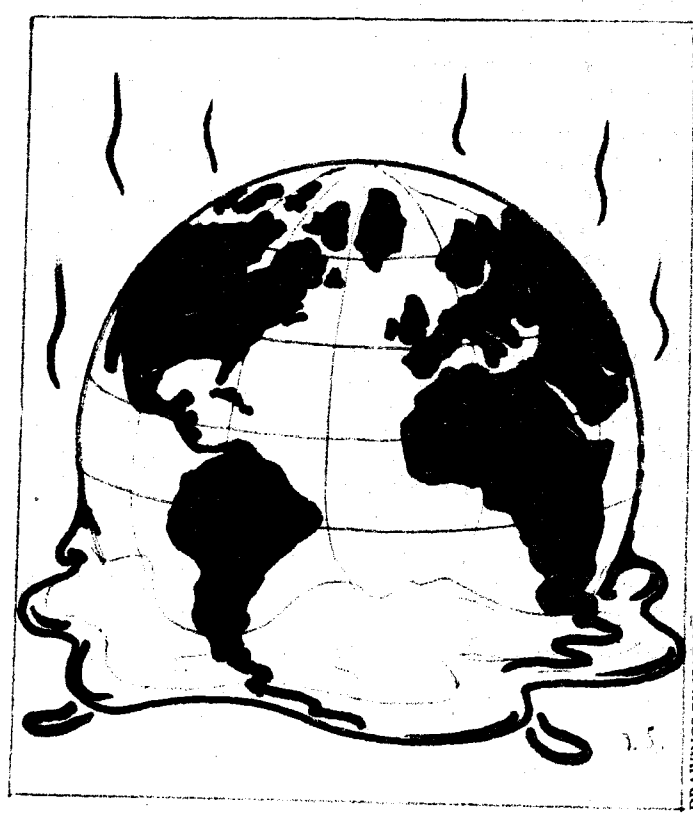
Only a few months ago I received a delegation from El Salvador in my office in Sweden. The leader of the delegation was Enrique Alvarez, a prominent businessman and leading democrat. He and friends in the Social Democratic Party, like Enrique Barrera, represented hope for democracy and social justice in El Salvador.

One day in November, Alvarez and Barrera and other leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front had a meeting in the church office of a secondary school. Armed men, both in civilian clothes and in uniform, burst into the meeting and took away eleven people. The next day six of them were found dead. They had all been tortured and strangled. Enrique Alvarez was among them. His left arm had been cut off.

This is just one example of the savage terror of the right. The death squads have been at work before. Last March 24, Archbishop Oscar Romero was killed by rightist elements during mass in his church in San Salvador. He often said: "They can kill me, but never the voice of social justice." He gave his life for having denounced an outrageous social system in which people live in misery, exploitation and constant fear. In 1980, more than 8,500 people were murdered in El Salvador. The Archbishop's Legal Aid Office attributes more than 80 percent of the deaths to crimes committed by the army and rightist paramilitary forces.

In a letter to the President of the United States dated March 31, 1980, twenty-four U.S. Congressmen gave their view of the situation in El Salvador: "According to recent reports from a delegation of American church officials, rape, torture, mutilation, decapitation, garroting and murder of defenseless men, women and children are being carried out by that government, not simply to eliminate opponents but to terrorize the entire population." The Congressmen ended their letter by saying: "We believe that sending military assistance to a government which cannot control its own military, and which continues to brutally repress its own people, is a repudiation of the principles upon which the United States was founded." Only recently, we heard the terrible news of the killing of three American nuns and a lay worker.

El Salvador is no isolated case. From many parts of Latin America come reports of daily atrocities so brutal they are almost unbearable to conceive. In Africa and Asia, millions of people suffer under the burden of exploitation, racial oppression and armed conflict. In Eastern Europe, we witness how the absolute power of the police state is no guarantee of peace and order. A so-called transition team of the incoming Reagan Administration recently proposed basic changes designed to reduce the influence of human-rights advocates



DRAWINGS BY ISADORE SELTZER

Olof Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden, delivered these remarks at An Evening for Peace, held at the Riverside Church in New York City on December 7, 1980. Other speakers at the annual event were Dom Helder Camara, Brazilian archbishop; author Studs Terkel; playwright Vinie Burrows; the Rev. Fred Kirkpatrick; Cora Weiss, director, Riverside Disarmament Program; Frederick Swann, organist, and the Rev. William Sloane Coffin.

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and "social reformers" in the present Administration. I sincerely hope that the advice will be rejected. Human rights is no abstract phrase. The absence of it means torture and death squads, the blood of women who have been mutilated, the lifeless eyes of children who have been slain. Nor is social reform a dry theory. In poor countries the absence of social reform means misery, illiteracy, disease. Again, you can read it in the eyes of children when hope has waned, when a cloud obscures the future.

Experience has taught us that human rights are among the first victims in a climate of frigid relations between the superpowers. When tensions increase, when a new iron curtain is lowered between the blocs, tolerance gives way to demands for discipline, generosity to indifference, dialogue to propaganda. The main winners in a cold-war situation are the Husaks of Czechoslovakia and the Pinochets of Chile and their like all over the world. The losers are the people and their legitimate demands for democracy, social justice and national independence.

Now we seem to be on our way back to the cold war. The process of détente has come to a standstill. All around the globe, we meet a climate of crisis and confrontation. There are two main threats to our survival and security. One is the widening gap between rich and poor nations, and the turmoil that may be the inevitable result of the deepening international economic crisis. The other is the accelerating arms race and the atmosphere of confrontation and apprehension it engenders.

I think it must be clear to all people that mass starvation and growing economic and social differences among nations and within nations pose a direct threat to world peace. And I also think most people realize that the more weapons that are added to the military arsenals, the greater the risk that some of these weapons will actually be used. The obvious answer to this double threat would be to organize a massive transfer of resources to the poor peoples. The money for this can be found in the vast amounts spent on preparations for war. If we would succeed in such a shift of resources from armaments to development, I believe that we could make a start toward eliminating one threat to our survival by reducing another.

But even if this solution seems obvious, it is not the one chosen by world leaders today. Instead, the already enormous sums spent on arms are allowed to continue to grow. And the climax of the irrationality is that we now have more than 60,000 nuclear weapons in the world. Their total explosive power is said to be equivalent to one and a quarter million Hiroshima bombs. The more bombs that are constructed, the closer comes the day when they will be used. But what does that really mean? What is a nuclear war like?

The experts we have at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute have given me some answers to that vital question. A major nuclear war would mean that all major cities in Europe, the whole of the Soviet Union and North America could be destroyed. Most of the urban populations would be killed by blast and fire. The rural populations would be killed by radiation from fallout. And after a war of this kind, international trade in food and other basic necessities would probably break down. This will lead to starvation for millions of people in the Third World. The disaster would not end there. Unpredictable long-term effects might well include changes in the global climate, severe genetic damage and depletion of the ozone layer around the earth. No scientist can really assure us that human life would survive a nuclear superpower war.

But in spite of all this, the arms race continues. We are told that its purpose is to strengthen the national security of each country involved. But I don't believe in that. The arms race doesn't increase security; it makes us less secure. Let me quote the late Lord Mountbatten, from a speech of his a year and a half ago: "There are powerful forces in this world that still trust the old Roman recipe—if you want peace, prepare for war. In the atomic age, this is rubbish. It is a dangerous misconception that one can increase one's security by enhancing the total insecurity."

Lord Mountbatten and many, many others have given all the arguments against the arms race. But still it goes on and on. I don't think that this is because some evil group, here or there, is plotting our destruction. But I do suggest that we have not acquired the ability to manage the arms race. And now, this race has gotten out of control. Why is that? Why cannot even the most brilliant politicians with the best of intentions force a lid on armaments development? Let me suggest five reasons for their impotence.

First, consider the role of research and development in the military field. Weapons research in itself is a powerful motor of the arms race. New weapons are added to the arsenals, not because they are needed but because they can be produced.

Second, consider how the development of military technology has gotten out of hand. Scientists are now making weapons that are more suitable for fighting a nuclear war than for deterring one. The technological advances may lead people to argue that a so-called first strike is not only feasible but also essential. The old phrase "unless we strike now the other side will soon do so" will be heard again.

Third, the evolution of strategic doctrines has led to a situation where we are now on the verge of a drastic expansion of the strategic nuclear-weapons programs. As nations deploy more and more missiles against each other, tensions will no doubt rise. To shoot first will be more important than ever.

Fourth, there is much talk about the possibility of fighting and winning a so-called limited nuclear war. This is an illusion. I am convinced that such a nuclear war would rapidly develop into an all-out confrontation. The consequences will be the annihilation of a great part of humanity.

And fifth, there is the grave danger of nuclear proliferation. Many countries now contemplate equipping themselves with nuclear weapons. And many of these nations are in crisis-ridden areas like the Middle East, South Asia and southern Africa.

Let me also say a few words about Europe. The disagree-

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nents between the great power blocs cast dark shadows cross our continent. Even if thirty-five years have passed ince the end of World War II, Europe is not a continent vhere peace can be taken for granted. In fact, Europe is the 'ery center of the arms race. We feel this very trongly—even people in neutral countries like my own. The :normous nuclear arsenals on the European continent pose ı threat not only to their possessors and their possessors' allies—they are threatening to all the peoples of Europe.

This threat is with us constantly. Even if a war started as a ocal conflict in some Third World region, it could easily :scalate to a superpower confrontation. And then we will ıave to assume that one or the other of these powers will try :o open up a front on the European continent. We have in Europe a ready theater of war. There have been military forces stationed on European soil for a long time. There are programmed weapons there, ready for action. In all, there are assumed to be 7,000 American, and nearly as many Soviet, tactical weapons in Central Europe alone. So it is easy to imagine how a superpower may be tempted to use its valuable weapons in this region, once a military confrontation has started elsewhere.

This is one reason for deep concern. Another is the introduction of a new generation of nuclear missiles in the European area—the Soviet SS-20 and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization theater nuclear forces. Their introduction will mean that another big step upward is taken on the nuclear-armaments ladder. And the threat of a military confrontation climbs accordingly. We are being driven toward nuclear war by the sheer momentum of military technology. This may seem to be a rather pessimistic judgment, and indeed it is. I do not hesitate to say that we live in the days of madness. I firmly believe that unless something drastic can be done, the uncontrolled arms race will lead to a nuclear catastrophe.

There is perhaps only one hope for the future. That is that the people will learn the facts in time, and that an aroused public opinion will force the politicians to gain control, to stop the nuclear arms race and to reduce armaments. There is a great risk that political leaders will not be able to prevent a nuclear holocaust, even when they really wish to do so. I am equally convinced that if the public knew the truth about the nuclear arms race, it would insist on action by its political leaders to stop this insanity.

To inform public opinion, to organize protests against the arms race—that is the great challenge to all popular movements—political parties, churches, trade unions and the like. We must present the facts about the arms race to the general public in a way that makes people understand what is going on.

We must tell what will happen to us and to our civilization if nuclear war breaks out. And we must also tell what we can have instead, if we can halt the arms race. We can show that only half a day's military expenditure would suffice to finance the whole malaria eradication program of the World Health Organization; that for the price of one jet fighter one could set up 40,000 village pharmacies in poor countries; or that for the cost of one modern tank one could provide 1,000 classrooms for 30,000 children.

These are some of the facts that need to be brought out. I believe that rationalism can triumph in the end. I believe that when we have achieved a broad recognition of the dangers of the arms race and the advantages of a change, people who now look upon the military machines with a feeling of helplessness will demand a halt in the arms race as their right. And I believe that it will then also be possible to start a process of disarmament for development.

It may seem an uphill battle. The prospects for success may not be very great. But I refuse to give up the hope that common sense will triumph in the end. And let me finish on that note, by quoting Martin Luther: "Even if I knew that the world would go under tomorrow, I would still plant my apple tree." □

AMSTERDAM'S SQUATTERS

The 'Krakers' Strike Again

RICHARD P. GREENFIELD

Amsterdam

Unseasonably cold weather in the Netherlands this fall didn't chill the growing protests over the severe housing shortage and the rapacious real estate speculation it has spawned. In response to the steadily worsening shortage, a squatters—Krakers—movement began, and it has now put down firm roots in Dutch society. Hundreds of buildings throughout the Netherlands are now tenanted by Krakers who have forced their way into empty houses. Yet few outside Holland were aware of the movement's dimensions until—at the coronation of Queen Beatrix on April 30, 1980—the police and squatters made a battleground of the area surrounding the Dam Palace in Amsterdam. There were barricades and tear gas in the streets.

There have been numerous clashes since. The eviction of Krakers from a house early on the evening of September 8 led to a violent confrontation with police. In early October, an estimated 5,000 Netherlanders demonstrated in The Hague, protesting the new anti-squatting law now under Parliament's consideration. And on October 9, demonstrators blocking the construction of a new subway that would require the demolition of scarce Amsterdam housing in its wake did battle with police for seven hours.

There is good reason for the passions that have been roused. The Municipal Housing Office in Amsterdam, which distributes only 1,500 apartments per year, has a waiting list of more than 56,000 people, with 1,000 more joining the list each month. Yet in the center of the city and along its three canals, one sees many houses standing emp-

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ty, some of them in the process of being restored.

Restoration itself has created much controversy. Squatters claim that the developers are breaking up old, spacious housing in order to sell off smaller apartments whose inordinately high price tags mean that they can be purchased only by the very rich, most of whom are seeking a cozy *pied-à-terre* in town. One building near the Central Station is currently offering one-bedroom apartments for 300,000 guilders, or $150,000.

Skyrocketing real estate values have also added fuel to the Dutch housing crisis. Houses outside Amsterdam's downtown that sold for $75,000 as late as 1971 have doubled in price. A garage attached to houses like these, offering nothing but space to store a car, is now worth almost $17,000. That's a lot to pay for a permanent parking space.

And Amsterdam is not the only place that has been hard hit. A three-bedroom split-level home located in a non-urban development on a half acre of land currently sells for $250,000. But the situation is worse in the cities—in The Hague, Utrecht, Maastricht, even Rotterdam, a city much rebuilt since the end of World War II.

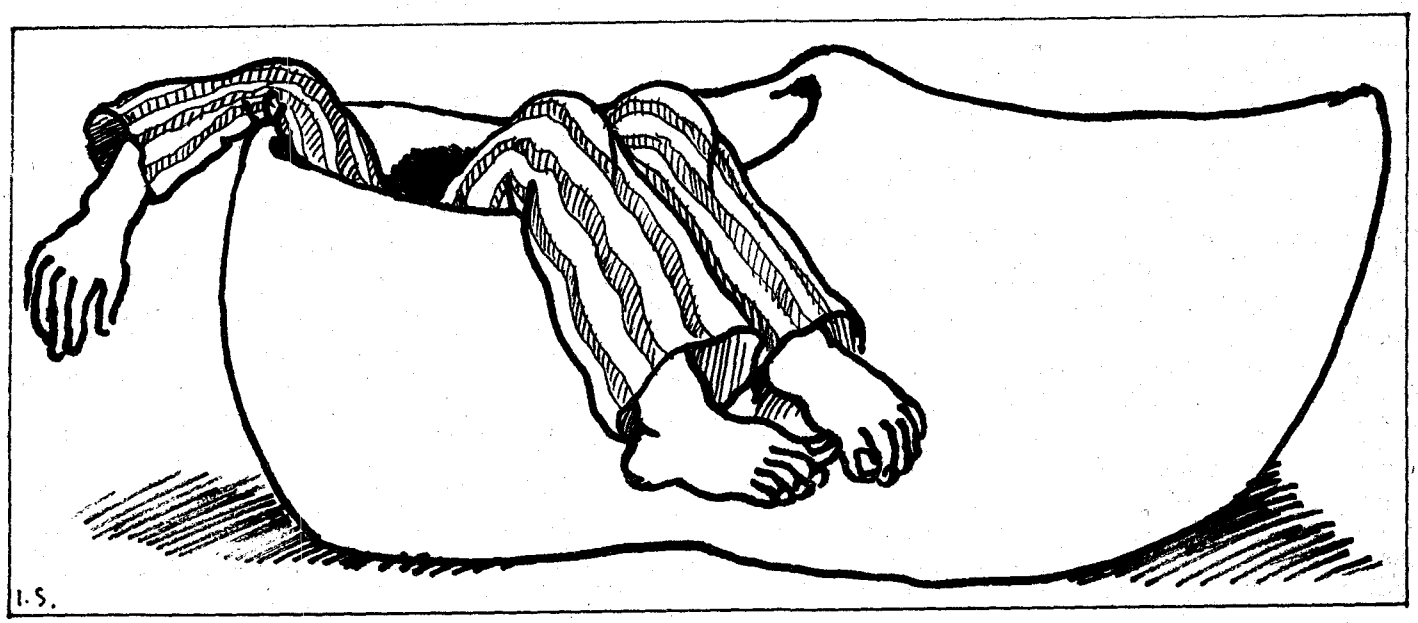
With housing so scarce, and with what there is of it priced so exorbitantly high, Netherlanders have taken to the squatter movement in earnest. But the squatters' legal situation is ambiguous. On the one hand, the Dutch Supreme Court authorized the occupation of empty houses years ago, and the *Vorderens* law allows the Government, in emergency situations, to requisition housing. The squatters claim that the present housing crisis constitutes such an emergency, and they are supported in that claim by the Dutch Council of Churches, the Dutch Communist Party and the left wing of the Labor Party, though the Krakers have not aligned themselves with any of these groups.

But despite the Supreme Court ruling and the application of the *Vorderens* law, the squatters are vulnerable to arrests and harassment. Although the occupation of an empty house may theoretically be legal, the initial breaking and entering is still a crime, and persons caught in the act can be arrested. Also, the law states that a house taken by squatters must originally have been unoccupied; many landlords wh are holding houses for speculation will therefore pay one t two persons to live in the top of a house, in order to have legal basis for evicting squatters.

When police have not cooperated in the evictions, lan lords have hired private guards to do the job, creating co frontations that have usually become violent. In fact, th first violence between squatters and police grew out of suc a fight in November 1978. Since then, squatters hav formed self-defense committees and most squatted hous contain barricades and booby traps of some kind to use i the event that police or private guards attempt to evict then And because they want to keep the movement self-su ficient, squatters have organized *Kraakspreekuur*, t neighborhood advisory centers, to keep in touch with on another, to give advice, or to consult on new targets fo squatting.

These squats are very carefully planned. First a house watched, all day and all night if necessary, in rotating shif to make sure that it is completely and continually empty Then the municipal tax rolls are consulted to find out th owner's name and the taxes he pays, as well as the price h paid for the house. Very often neighbors will be sounde out to see if they will give information about the house or it owner. Once the decision to squat in a certain house ha been made, things get more organized and precise. A truc is rented and loaded up with the squatters' belongings. A advance party goes to the house to break in and to take pic tures, which will be used to prove in court, if necessary, tha the house was unoccupied at the time of the squat. A member of the advance party carries a walkie-talkie to radio the driver that the house has been entered and that he should then bring over the belongings and furniture.

One such attempted squat did not work out. The squatters assembled in a large warehouse (which was itself squatted). The warehouse, they explained, was chosen merely because it was close to the designated house and because it was big enough to store the truck. Following the advance party, the squatters inconspicuously walked along the other side of



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anal. Finding the doors locked, the invaders sent for a der. The police arrived in the interim. The ladder carriers re warned and simply walked by the house while two licemen examined the locks. (There is nothing illegal out carrying a ladder through the streets of Amsterdam, t the door-breaking tools had to be hidden.) Upon re- uping at the warehouse, it became clear that many seem- passersby—bicyclists, young people walking arm in n—had all been part of the plan. The police car had been otted long before its arrival; in fact the squatters were sure y knew who had called it.

This high degree of organization has given the squatters ir measure of success. Several different squatting "col- tives" publish their own newspapers or magazines, which sold openly at newsstands throughout the country. akers also operate a pirate radio station, which they have d to good advantage.

The radio station is thought to be located in the Grote yser, an old mansion situated on the Keysergracht in the nter of Amsterdam. The Keyser became the symbolic adquarters for the squatters when they ignored a direct urt order to vacate it. Nor did police attempts to harass e residents succeed in forcing them out. When it became parent that the Government meant business, the Krakers me up with the idea of setting up a pirate radio station in e building. The first transmitter was only five watts; the esent one is sixty—sufficiently powerful to reach most of e city of Amsterdam. Aside from broadcasting music and lk shows, the station serves to alert squatters when the olice are about to make an eviction. As a result, on several casions, police who go to make an eviction have found emselves confronted by angry crowds fully prepared to defend the house. In one case, police lines were attacked from the rear, to divert them from their mission.

But the stronger the squatter movement becomes, the tougher grow threats from Amsterdam to empty the Grote Keyser—with the army, if necessary. It would not be the first time: army bulldozers and tanks were brought in to break through squatter barricades during fighting on the Vondelstraat in February 1980. The Grote Keyser, in fact, looks like a fortress. The entire building, the squatters claim, has been prepared for attack. "If it gets down to it," one squatter said, "we can pull the whole building down around their heads. And we will."

The Krakers' defiance was taken seriously in Amsterdam. The first week in October 1980, the municipal government announced that it had bought the Grote Keyser from its owners and that the house would be used to board young people. Negotiations between the city and the squatters who already live in the Grote Keyser are still going on.

A medical student who has lived in a squatted house for a year and a half estimates that about half of all squatters are students. "And there is a real reason for that," he told me. "There is an incredible shortage of student housing here in Amsterdam. The universities can house only a fraction of the students. And the speculators have driven the price of nonstudent housing up beyond the reach of most students." Ironically, he and his friends tried first to rent the house where they are currently squatting. They were told that it was not for rent. Yet it was as empty then as it was on the day they moved in.

The other half of the Krakers are a mixture of people who work in the city but cannot find affordable housing there, and of young people who have come to Amsterdam from other parts of Holland to work, or to look for work, and can find neither housing nor employment. Squatters say that they would like to involve more nonstudents in the movement. "When there are only students it makes it that much easier for the government to say that these are student riots—which they are not," one squatter insisted.

Another agreed: "What is happening here is that the Netherlands is a social democratic country with good unemployment programs and national health insurance. The squatters are saying that everyone also has a right to housing and that this right transcends the right of anyone to hold an empty house for a few years so he can sell off a few apartments and make a pile of money."

The squatter movement has brought to a head a debate whose resolution will no doubt be vital to the survival of many populous countries during this century; the Netherlands—the most densely populated nation in the world—is at the vanguard. At what point is the right to own and dispose of private property as one wishes at odds with the public's right to decent, affordable shelter? What action must be taken when the two conflict?

The Dutch Government thinks it may have come up with a solution, but the proposed law to prohibit both squatting *and* holding empty houses unrented is currently drawing heavy fire in Parliament and around the country. In fact, it was to protest this piece of legislation that last October's Krakers demonstration was held. The Krakers—who are beginning to represent a sizable bloc of voters—clearly feel that squatting must be permitted at least until the housing crisis is alleviated. With national elections scheduled for this year, they may get their way. □

The (Anti) Trustbusters

MARK GREEN

In a little-noticed memorandum circulated on December 5 among Senate Judiciary Committee Republicans, chairman-to-be Strom Thurmond announced that "antitrust . . . will be kept in full committee." Thus did the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee, an institution that for twenty-seven years was the nation's conscience against monopoly and price fixing, go to its unheralded demise.

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No one doubts that the majority party has the right, and certainly the power, to reorganize its chamber. But this sudden abolition of such a longstanding body demonstrates that some Republicans have a greater sensitivity to hypocrisy than to history. For if there was any domestic issue that had strong bipartisan support, it was surely antitrust enforcement. As Republicans would always point out, you can't have free markets unless the rules of the game discourage monopolistic practices. "Antitrust is not a Democratic program," said Senator Howard Metzenbaum on learning of the Thurmond move, "it was actually started by Senator John Sherman of Ohio, a Republican."

Although the Sherman Act was passed in 1890, it was not until 1953 that the Senate created a Senate Antitrust Subcommittee. The tradition that Senator Thurmond peremptorily cast aside began with Judiciary chairman William "Wild Bill" Langer, a dynamic Republican populist from North Dakota. He founded and headed the subcommittee because "no attempt has yet been made by the Congress to survey the entire field of antitrust laws with a view toward a comprehensive revision and coordination of these laws."

But it was not until January 1957 that the subcommittee's personality finally took shape. That marked the beginning of the chairmanship of Senator Estes Kefauver, the former Presidential candidate and investigator of organized crime who was also one of the co-authors of the Celler-Kefauver Act of 1950, the most significant anti-merger law of this century.

Kefauver then launched six years of hearings in 1957 on "administered prices"—i.e., prices set by a few leading firms in concentrated industries. The hearings were organized by the legendary John Blair, Kefauver's chief economic aide and later the author of the seminal book *Economic Concentration*. Hearings into the steel, auto, bread and drug industries, among others, filled twenty-nine volumes and more than 18,000 pages. "Before the subcommittee made its record, it was possible for policy makers to ignore the structure of industry," *Washington Post* reporter Bernard Nossiter later wrote. These hearings established the fact that "corporate, and union, pricing power is a phenomenon with which every administration must cope, either openly or covertly." A later Kefauver probe led to the largest criminal antitrust case in the history of the Sherman Act. Twenty-nine corporations and forty-five executives were charged with bid-rigging, price fixing and market-splitting. Eventually, fines of $1.9 million were imposed, twenty executives received suspended sentences and seven others went to prison.

When Kefauver died in 1963, Senator Philip Hart of Michigan took over. A gentlemanly trustbuster, Hart was soft where Kefauver had been loud—but he continued the tradition of investigations into the abuse of corporate power. He too held six years of hearings into the extent and costs of economic concentration. As a result, in 1971 he introduced his Industrial Reorganization Act, which forced a generation of antitrust lawyers and economists to debate the values of concentration versus deconcentration. During the mid-1970s, the subcommittee passed into law the Antitru Penalties and Procedures Act, which increased the penalti for antitrust crimes and opened up to public scrutiny t consent decree process, and the Hart-Scott-Rodino bi which required advance notice to the Federal Trade Co mission of large mergers and facilitated antitrust class acti lawsuits. These studies, proposals and laws showed Ha had the courage of his convictions, for it was going again the grain for a Senator representing Detroit to become a outspoken critic of oligopoly in general, and the auto o gopoly in particular.

After Hart's death in 1976, the subcommittee was chair by Senators Edward Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum. part because a conglomerate merger wave crested duri their chairmanships, these two Democrats spearhead hearings and legislation into the area of conglomerate a quisitions, i.e., when a company acquires another compa in a different field of commerce. They introduced a bi S. 600, which would prohibit companies worth over $2 b lion in sales or assets from acquiring *any* other firm an create a strong presumption against smaller but still substa tial conglomerate acquisitions; this measure, however, w never reported out of subcommittee. The two also pursue an area that Hart shied away from: antitrust oversigh Many hearings looked into why certain cases were brough while others were dropped or never pursued.

By 1980, the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee was one c the largest and most renowned subcommittees in the Senat Yet it will be abolished in the 97th Congress. Why? "In word, Mathias," says one Democratic staffer on the com mittee, meaning that right-wing Republicans couldn abide the liberal Republican from Maryland, Charles McC Mathias, becoming chairman due to his seniority.

A Thurmond aide counters that the Republicans merely decided to have fewer subcommittees than the Democrats (yet after eliminating its largest subcommittee, it created a new one called Security and Terrorism), and he argues that merging antitrust into the jurisdiction of the full committee "might be a plus because you can avoid delaying at subcommittee whenever you have an antitrust measure" (so then why not abolish all subcommittees?). It will now be at the full committee level that chairman Thurmond can indulge in the pro-trust views that he so often expressed in hearings as minority chairman and that the American Bar Association's Antitrust Section urged on the subcommittee a year ago: apply the antitrust laws to labor, take antitrust enforcement jurisdiction out of the F.T.C. and exempt much foreign commerce from the antitrust laws.

The public today is obviously concerned about what many critics call "big government," but they are also very worried about "big business," as poll after poll demonstrates. And they should be. Until the stock market declined at the end of the decade, the value of all mergers rose from $12 billion in 1975, to $20 billion in 1976, $22 billion in 1977 and $34 billion in 1978. Market concentration has remained high for years, with a few firms dominating their industries in up to two-thirds of the manufacturing sector. As John Blair ably demonstrated, high concentration means high

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prices. Republicans misread the election returns when they abandon their commitment to a competitive marketplace and when they abandon a Senate tradition for short-run deological gain.

So far there has been very little voiced opposition to the Thurmond gambit, perhaps reflecting the dispirited mood of Capitol Hill Democrats post-November 4. If the proposal sticks, then the Judiciary Committee in particular, and Republicans in general, would have come a long way from Wild Bill Langer to good ol' Strom Thurmond. □

FINDING THE 'WE' OF ME

The Politics Of Narcissism

PAUL L. WACHTEL

One effect of the modern communications industry has been to reduce greatly the lag time between insight and cliché. No sooner does an interesting and original idea appear than its clones inundate our airwaves and periodicals. That has been the fate of discussions of narcissism in our culture and of our preoccupation with self-development and self-improvement. What was at first a useful insight into an emerging trend in our culture threatens to become a repetitive chorus of "Isn't it awful!" that provides little illumination and even less sense of what a constructive response to this state of affairs might be.

The critiques of social narcissism—what Tom Wolfe called the "me generation"—have encompassed an enormous range of phenomena, from jogging to encounter worship of celebrities; from the increasing interest in psychotherapy to the shift among college students from social activism to preoccupation with grades. In a very broad, vaguely articulated way, these phenomena do seem to constitute a trend and some aspects of this trend do seem anti-social and unhealthy. At a time when events point to the necessity of thinking ecologically and of recognizing our interdependence, much of what is surfacing in American life seems to reflect a misguided effort to revivify a form of extreme individualism that in myth or reality was a part of American life in earlier and simpler times. This is evident not only in attitudes toward taxes and welfare programs but is implicit as well in many of the calls for self-improvement —in their emphasis on individual control over one's destiny and their depreciation of political concerns or commitment to a cause.

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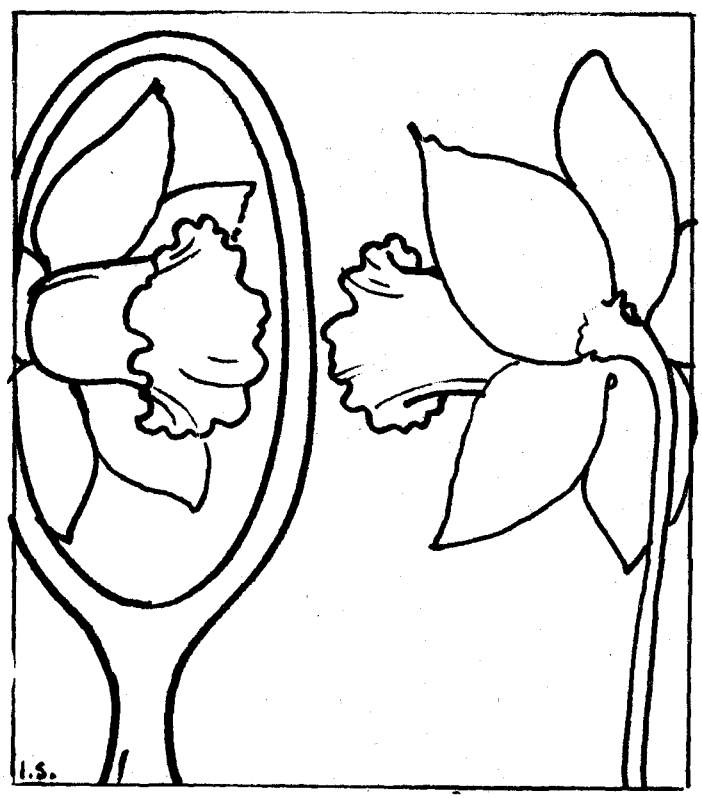
But personal experience can never really be apolitical. As many saw clearly in the 1960s, private experience and public politics are not thoroughly separate realms; the two interpenetrate continuously and fatefully. The most important contribution of that tumultuous decade was the elaboration, in a sense considerably broader than R. D. Laing's, of a "politics of experience." This particular legacy of the 1960s is the impetus for the trends now being called narcissistic; they are both a reaction to and a continuation of that legacy.

I would thus take sharp issue with Christopher Lasch's claim, in his book *The Culture of Narcissism*, that "the radicalism of the Sixties failed to address itself to the quality of personal life or to cultural questions." Certainly there were some 1960s radicals whose vision was dark and monolithic, who saw concern with emotional life and personal relations as a corrupt bourgeois distraction from the cause of the revolution. But there was nothing new about these New Left figures. They were essentially old vodka in new bottles. What *was* new in the 1960s—or at least a rediscovery of what had been lost for many years—was precisely the coming together of strands of political radicalism and personal, experiential liberation. Eli Zaretsky, in his fine little book *Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life*, is much closer to the truth than Lasch when he discusses how "currents of personal emancipation and cultural radicalism" became isolated from leftist politics after the Russian Revolution, only to be reunited in the radical ferment of the 1960s. Marshall Berman raised similar ideas in his *The Politics of Authenticity.*

For a time, there was a broad segment of our youth whose desire for political change was expressed in large measure by their rejection of the style and role expected of them.



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Although more overt and traditional political activity was common as well, it was a time when every facet of personal life was fraught with political significance. Clothes, hairstyle, music, slang phrases and, most significantly, the kind of job one envisioned for oneself (and the anticipated role of work and career in one's life altogether)—all these were political statements. All indicated "which side you were on."

Sadly, it did turn out that much of the political commitment and disaffection from materialist, competitive values was not as deep as it had seemed. Many of today's rising young professionals and executives are people who ten years ago looked so "different" from either their parents or the "teen-agers" of the 1950s that it was hard to imagine what they would grow up to be. Not all approved of what they were up to but only the most cynical pictured them simply fitting in, becoming basically indistinguishable from previous cohorts of "kids" who "grew up."

The cynics' prediction seems, on the face of it, to have been so correct that it is already difficult to remember just how different the youth of the 1960s seemed to be. But I think they really were different, if not as different as they seemed, and they were different because they were responding to a different set of conditions. The Vietnam War was the catalyst, but more basic was a failure of identification, a recognition on the part of many young people that their parents' affluence did not bring the satisfaction and contentment they were led to expect it would. The vanguard of the movement in the 1960s was from the middle class rather than the working class because it was there that so many had reached the point of diminishing returns, the point where further affluence did not bring further satisfaction, and thus where some of the ruling assumptions of American life began to lose their legitimacy and power to compel. Preoccupation with personal growth and development was a natural consequence of disillusionment with received values and an inability to identify with and commit oneself to them.

The congeries of trends now being depicted as the "new narcissism" reflect in many ways a corrupted version of the idealistic (and valuable) questioning of the 1960s. The radicalism of the 1960s foundered because the political and the personal again began to separate. As a result, the end of the decade saw more purely political groups, sometimes given to terrorism and the rhetoric of class and race war, along with an increased privatism as many retreated into drugs, mysticism and other purely solipsistic rebellions. The reasons for this (I think temporary) failure of the binding synthesis merit a great deal of discussion. But whatever the causes, and whatever the problems that have followed from it, it is well to note that the purported narcissism of the current decade is a continuation of trends that, back in the 1960s, implied a serious search for alternative values.

The trends now being called narcissistic are essentially the same ones that Philip Rieff, a sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania, earlier designated in his book *The Triumph of the Therapeutic* as "therapeutic" because they reflected a shift from concern with the self, a shift from "religious man" to "psychological man." Rieff also includes an intermediate stage in his account—that of "economic man"—but neither he, nor those like Christopher Lasch who have built upon his ideas, have made much of this latter idea. This is, I think, unfortunate, for an understanding of the role of economic values tempers the view of the present trends as decadent. The therapeutic may be more aptly named than even Rieff intended, in that it may reflect not the loss of transcendent values but a genuinely restorative effort to deal with that very loss—a loss largely the result of the rapacious individualism and crass materialism of economic man.

Seen in this light, many of the defects of the therapeutic or self-actualizing orientation are in fact vestiges of the earlier economic value system, which is still quite influential; thus, our problems result not from too much concern with self-actualization but from too little. What passes for self-actualization is all too often a model of self-aggrandizement based not on experiential but on economic metaphors. Our new psychological hucksters are hucksters first and psychologists decidedly second, whether they be formally trained in psychology or more nakedly revealed as public relations types. The est-chatology of the profiteering gurus reflects a vision part P. T. Barnum and part robber baron, not a culmination of our understanding of the experience of satisfaction, vitality and relatedness.

I would thus take issue with philosopher Peter Marin's claim that est is "the logical extension of the whole human potential movement of the past decade." Est and its all too plentiful ilk are not a logical extension but a regressive drag on this movement. For the moment they have prevented the progressive forces of the movement from generating much momentum. In his widely cited essay in *Harper's* on "the new narcissism," Marin expresses concern about "the ways in which selfishness and moral blindness now assert themselves in the larger culture as enlightenment and psychic health" and contends that what is missing from such approaches is "the ground of community, the felt sense of collective responsibility for the fate of each separate other." Marin's is in general an interesting and useful examination of the excesses and mistakes of this movement, and his discussion of the emphasis on the prerogatives of the self as a defense against the demands of conscience in an unfair world is an important idea deserving further exploration.

What he largely ignores, however, is that these movements did begin with a moral impulse, however much they may have subsequently strayed. In the 1960s, concern with self-awareness and personal growth reflected a rejection of the materialism that was seen as the basis for a social system that oppressed its minorities and wrought havoc around the globe. Today, this psychological and therapeutic emphasis continues to represent (at least potentially) an alternative to dominant values that point toward productivity instead of experience; that tell us that we can't "afford" social programs though we somehow still can afford new cars, gadgets

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nd weapons; and that painfully push us to scrape raw our ody politic against the rough edges of limited energy, toxic ollution and misordered priorities which require us to ıake things we don't need in order to provide jobs.

Marin's use of the term narcissism reflects a moral judgıent; he essentially equates it with selfishness. In the few ears since his essay, this moral concern has increasingly ıeen conflated with the clinical psychological meaning of he term, creating two problems. First, the psychoanalytic ıerspective, which was intended to be value-neutral or to ırovide a sympathetic understanding, has been used instead n the service of pseudo-scientific condemnation and dismisal of what the critic doesn't like. Lasch's writings on narcisism in particular show this trend. Second, the psychoanaytic accounts of narcissism that have primarily been relied ın by social critics—the theories of such analysts as Heinz Kohut and Otto Kernberg—fix the origins of narcissistic ıersonality traits almost exclusively in experiences with the nother during the first year or two of life.

Other analysts, however, see personality as much more responsive to the person's adult social context, a view that has quite different social implications. From their perspective, it may *appear* that personality traits are set very early, but this is because the social context we encounter is so often a self-created one. The individual who needs to bolster a shaky self-esteem by self-inflation and by desperately seeking admiration creates a particular kind of world for himself. Either he evokes similar puffery from others (thereby confirming his view that he must win a Nobel Prize just to tread water) or, even when he succeeds in winning a role as a "star," he is likely to make the basis of his acceptance in a social group be one in which his role is the "special" one; and there is even some truth in his implicit sense that what will win acceptance for "ordinary" people will not be regarded as acceptable in his case. The *origin* of such a "narcissist's" need to engage in such a pattern may well lie early in life, but the maintenance of the process requires a continuing cycle of events.

The full implications of such an alternative perspective cannot be spelled out here. At the very least it provides a much clearer sense of how present social realities—particularly our almost compulsive social and geographic mobility and our lack of clear guidelines as to what is expected of us, in work, in marriage, in parenthood—disrupt the continuing processes by which the self is defined and rooted in a community. And it points to how selfishness can arise from insufficient care for the real needs of the self even when what is observed manifestly is an excessive self-preoccupation. Let us by all means expose what is shallow, meretricious and self-serving in the human potential movement. Particularly let us take heed that the self cannot thrive in a vacuum, that only in concert with others can we achieve the conditions for harmony within. But let us also recognize that the narcissist keeps looking into the mirror not out of delighted contentment but out of anxious concern, and that the suffering he causes himself and others cannot be reduced by denying the claims of the self but only by more accurately and sympathetically understanding them. □

INFORMATION ORDERED

Third World Journalism: The Case of Peru

SONIA GOLDENBERG

At the recent debate between Western and Third World countries at the UNESCO Conference on a New World Information Order, the real issues of the role of the press in developing nations got smothered in rhetoric. In defending their free-press traditions, the Western representatives showed an ignorance of the problems of domination by foreigners or indigenous oligarchies that has long plagued the Third World press. Yet the protestations of the nonaligned nations were often a rationalization of government control and censorship.

Peru is a country that has experienced the extremes of abuses of the press that Third World nations complain about, as well as the rigid government control that is abhorrent to the West. Its case points up both the limitations of a privately owned press in developing countries and the high risks of government ownership as an alternative.

Six years ago the Peruvian military revolution entered its most radical phase, provoking increasingly vehement opposition from the press. As a result, the junta expropriated all seven Lima dailies at one stroke. As is the case throughout Latin America, Peru's daily press had been the exclusive preserve of a small circle of powerful families, who used their newspapers to defend narrow economic interests. For instance, *El Comercio*, Lima's oldest newspaper, which had a stature analogous to that of *The New York Times* in the United States, was owned by the oligarchic Miró-Quesada family. Since 1919 the Miró-Quesadas had supported a string of right-wing military dictatorships, but moved to a more modern nationalist stance in the late 1950s. Second in importance was *La Prensa*, run by Pedro Beltrán, a member of a large landowning family and holder of key political offices in conservative regimes. *La Prensa* staunchly opposed agrarian reform and strongly advocated laissez-faire economic policies serving exporters of agricultural products. Among the other dailies, *Expreso* belonged to Manuel Ulloa, believed to have been associated with Rockefeller banking interests and currently President Fernando Belaúnde Terry's Prime Minister.

The press reform, the military announced, would expand popular access to print media and establish an "authentic independent press" where healthy criticism would flourish "within the parameters allowed by the revolution." The

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generals gave assurances that the expropriation would *not* result in a state-controlled media but rather promised to transfer the power of the press to the "social sectors of the nation," such as labor and the peasantry, which the junta planned to institutionalize as mass political organizations. In the meantime, the Government filled the editorial boards of these new popular instruments with left-wing intellectuals sympathetic to the revolution.

The takeover of the daily press was a watershed for the junta, domestically and internationally. At home, the reform met with adamant opposition from the right, fervent support from the left and a mix of tacit approval and indifference from the vast middle ground of public opinion. Abroad, it was violently criticized by the Inter American Press Association, an organization of the hemisphere's newspaper owners.

Intellectuals, bureaucrats and political hacks within the left—most of whom had no journalistic experience—suddenly filled the newsrooms, eager to engage in the loosely defined "criticism from within." In the early days, foreign observers were struck by the degree of independence the Government allowed. "Never before in recent times has the Peruvian press appeared so free," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Marvin Howe. Moreover, since the different factions within the military Government were each represented by one of the dailies, the papers became important organs in the debate over the proper direction of the revolution.

The "springtime" of Peruvian journalism turned out to be brief. Torn between its noble democratic ideals and political expediency, the Government, in a matter of months, predictably chose the latter. Through widespread purges, the initial criticism and political debates were quickly silenced. A new organ of control, the Central Office of Information, began holding weekly supervisory meetings with editors and issuing copious memos on sensitive issues. The daily press soon became the bland, dependable spokesman of the Government. The first news Peruvians had of last April's three-week mail strike was when newspapers carried the headline "The Mail Strike Is Over." Again, when an Air Force general was caught carrying 11.5 pounds of cocaine, *El Comercio* editorialized on the "patriotic duty" to refrain from printing such news.

The result was a loss of credibility, and total circulation of all newspapers fell sharply, from 919,922 in 1975 to 510,000 last February. For real news, Peruvians turned to a dozen independent weeklies of all political persuasions that cashed in handsomely on the information gap.

"In Peru, governments pass but *El Comercio* remains," goes an old saying. And with President Belaúnde's return of newspapers to private control, the press experiment has come full circle. The military Government failed to transfer the press to the popular organizations because the generals feared public opinion would be mobilized against them. In a broader sense, Peru's experience reflects what might easily happen once any state, however noble its intentions, becomes the exclusive owner of the media.

A complete reversion to the status quo ante, however, is virtually impossible today. Alejandro Miró-Quesada, whc decade ago fought and succeeded in preventing formati of a union at *El Comercio*, accepted without protest the percent profit sharing with workers that Peruvian law r quires for all industries. The press barons are resurrected a far different country from the one they ruled twelve yea ago: oligarchic families have lost their power, trade unio are much stronger and political ferment has heightened cla tensions. Also, Peruvians have become schooled in the us and abuses of the press as a political instrument. The le which before 1968 never had a voice among the media, nc can speak through several weeklies and even a fledgling ne daily, *El Diario de Marka*, whose circulation has alreac surpassed three of the formerly state-run newspaper "There's just no room for seven right-wing newspapers Peru today," said Carlos Urrutia, one of the editors of *Diario*, "and I think newspaper owners will have to unde stand this." If once again they fail to come to terms with tl political realities, they may risk another kind of "censo ship"—that imposed by nonbuying readers.

Reagan's Energy Program: A Time For Conservation

KERRY O'BANION

The 1980 Presidential elections revealed two foc points of voter unease: inflation and the erosion c the dollar abroad, and national vulnerability—sense of diminished control over world event America's energy dilemma, which once moved the Carte Administration to sound the trumpets for a "mor equivalent of war" and which the 1980 Democratic pla form called "the highest legislative priority" of the pas four years, was relegated to the sidelines. John Anderson' 50-cent-a-gallon gas tax was the only campaign proposal o energy that drew any attention, and that was transient

But the problem did not go away while the politician talked. The latest Organization of Petroleum Exportin Countries price rise, announced December 16 in Bali, whicl will push up gasoline and heating-oil prices from 5 to 7 cent in this country, was a graphic reminder that energy will be dominant concern of the new Administration. U.S. depend ence on foreign oil remains the single most important cause of inflation and American vulnerability, and reducing this dependence is the sine qua non of any strategy for solving these problems.

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Consider the relationship between oil imports and inflaon. Inflation is simply an increase in money relative to naonal production. If more dollars exist to buy the same mount of product, each dollar has a lower *real value,* hence ominal or "face" prices go up. Now, to the extent that it is onfined to the U.S. economy, inflation is entirely redistributive in nature: when the price of an item goes up, the buyer ıffers an income loss, but the producer of the item also ealizes a gain. The redistribution of income may be perceived as undesirable by the citizenry: for example, a rise in ıe price of gasoline results in a lot of losers (drivers) and omparatively few gainers (stockholders in the oil industry). lut total real income does not change, and it is within the ower of the Government, if it so desires, to mitigate such ıcome redistributions by taxation.

When the cost of an imported raw material, such as oil, ncreases, however, the U.S. economy undergoes a decline n real income. A decline in real income results in a decline n demand for U.S. goods and services; when demand is lown, the economy does not require as many workers, and he least valuable ones are laid off. The Government can either permit this unemployment to occur, and bear its political cost, or it can print more money to sustain demand. The recent tendency of the Government has been to favor he latter, in combination with two other measures: holding prices of domestic oil and gas down to compensate for the more expensive imported oil, and imposing restrictions on imported manufactured items to protect U.S. firms from being undercut.

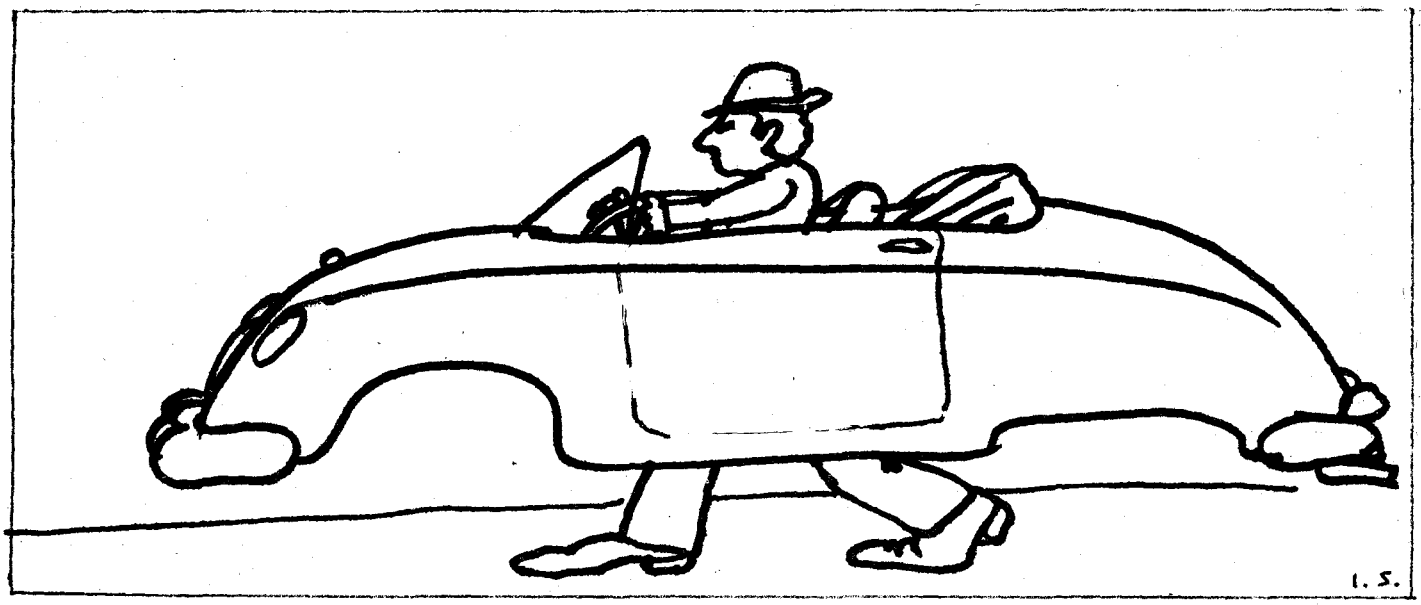
Unfortunately, all these factors have undesirable long-run consequences: inflation reduces the world value of the dollar, thus making oil and all other imports more expensive, and also drives up the cost of capital; control of domestic oil and gas prices discourages conservation by masking the true marginal cost of energy; and protectionist devices, by eliminating foreign competition, remove the incentive for U.S. firms to improve productivity. In the long run, inflation is exacerbated rather than cured.

Oil imports also make the U.S. economy more vulnerable. Obviously, to depend on foreign sources for 50 percent of our oil and 20 percent of our total energy consumption is undesirable; however, the direct threat to the United States of an oil cutoff is less of a problem than is the threat we face indirectly through our alliances. Under the International Energy Agency (I.E.A.) compact we have signed with twenty other industrialized allies, we must share in any shortfall in proportion to the ratio of our imports to the imports of all twenty-one nations.

For example, the United States now imports 3.36 million barrels per day from the Middle East, Libya and Algeria, or 41 percent of our total imports and 20 percent of our total oil consumption. Under the I.E.A. formula, however, in the event of a cutoff to Western nations by the Islamic bloc, we would lose not 20 percent but more than 50 percent of the volume of oil we use. What would otherwise be a quite uncomfortable but manageable adjustment for the United States alone (8 percent reduction in total energy consumption) becomes a catastrophe (20 percent reduction). Yet the alternative, weasling out of the I.E.A. compact, is simply not a tenable one.

The answer, in the view of Ronald Reagan and his advisers, is for Government to get out of the way and let private industry do the job. The first and foremost step in this strategy, of course, is decontrol of oil and gas prices. But decontrol programs, while they do not go as far and as fast as conservatives would like, have already been set in motion by President Jimmy Carter, leaving the incoming Administration with the question of what to do next.

During the campaign, Reagan pinned his hopes on increased domestic production of oil and natural gas. This is a radical departure from the conventional wisdom of the past dozen years, which holds that U.S. production has begun an inexorable decline, and that alternative fuels are required for the future. Michel Halbouty, the chairman of Reagan's task force of energy advisers, believes (and has evidently persuaded Reagan) that America would have plenty of domestic oil if only the Government would open up the 95 percent of the outer continental shelf and the 70 percent of Federal



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lands now closed to private exploration and production. Fred Hartley, chairman of the American Petroleum Institute, contends, "Government studies indicate that [Federal lands and the continental shelf] contain 37 percent of our undiscovered oil resources, and perhaps much, much more."

While yet another huge oil or gas discovery could always turn up to prolong our petroleum habit, the odds that such a find will be made are longer now than ever. After all, more wells have been sunk in the United States than in the rest of the world combined. More important, our rate of consumption has grown to a point where even a new strike as productive as the Alaskan North Slope would provide only three more years' worth of oil. In reality, we will be quite fortunate if we are able to keep domestic oil and natural gas production at their current levels through the 1980s.

What the United States does have in abundance are coal and oil shale. While direct combustion of coal now provides almost 50 percent of the energy used in power generation, and almost 25 percent of industrial energy, a dramatic increase in the use of coal in this form is constrained by several factors. An extensive pipeline network to transport oil and gas is already in place, built in the heady days when those fuels were cheap. The coal industry, on the other hand, must rely on the undercapitalized railroad system. Many existing power and industrial plants, particularly in the West, were designed to burn only gas or oil and are very expensive to convert. Such plants, moreover, lack facilities to store and handle coal, and may be miles from a railroad line. Coal combustion is made even more expensive by the emission controls required to meet present air-quality regulations.

The first two of these constraints could be eliminated by liquefying or gasifying the coal at the point of extraction. The centerpiece of Carter's energy strategy, therefore, was the creation of a quasi-public Synthetic Fuels Corporation to hand out $88 billion in loans and grants to private industry with the objective of producing the synfuels equivalent of 2.5 million barrels of oil per day by 1990. (Congress reduced this goal to 0.5 million barrels per day by 1987 and 2 million barrels by 1992; it authorized up to $200 billion for the first phase, up to $68 billion for the second.)

Although frequently touted as the solution to our reliance on imported oil, synfuels are hardly that, at least for the remainder of this century. Suppose that by 2000 we have a synfuels industry that can produce 3.36 million barrels per day—that is, the amount of oil we now import from the aforementioned group of Islamic nations. To keep this simple, let us also assume that except for this replacement of imported oil by domestic production, the figures for OPEC exports and I.E.A. nations imports are the same as today. According to the I.E.A. formula, a cutoff of Arab oil would trigger a 30 percent reduction in U.S. liquid fuel consumption—better than the earlier 50 percent, but a long way from "energy independence."

Again, our alternative is to squirm out of the I.E.A. compact, but even then, we would still be left with almost million imported barrels per day, primarily from Nigeri Indonesia, Mexico and Venezuela. Who is to say what t political situation will be in those nations in 2000? (Wl could have predicted the Arab world of today in 1960?)

Even if the production goals of Carter's program can met, then synfuels can be at best only a partial solution our reliance on imported oil in this century. However, mc experts question even the scaled-down goal of 2 million ba rels a day by 1992. For example, reports published in 19 by the Harvard Business School and by Resources for t Future, while in marked disagreement in most respec agree on this point. In fact, Milton Russell of Resources f the Future, speaking before the American Enterprise I stitute, argued that the faster the synfuels program is pushe the more expensive and disruptive it will be, because of tl waste resulting from the same mistakes being made in a l of places at once, the lost output from conventional oil ar gas production and power generation as labor and capit are diverted to the synfuels program and the cost of lost ou put in nonenergy sectors, for the same reason.

But the political obstacles to development on this sca may be even more intractable. Its environmental, social ar cultural impact on the coal and oil-shale regions has bee extensively publicized; but what is important in politic terms is that those dislocations will be relatively localize while the benefit, namely the increase in fuel supply, will l diffused. Since the impact on individual "losers" is muc greater than on "gainers," the losers are far more apt to fle their political muscle. The defeat of Carter's Energ Mobilization Board, which would have been empowered t expedite synfuels projects, is an example: environmentalis were joined in opposition by normally conservative Wester legislators, who feared pre-emption of state control ove water resources.

Another political disadvantage of synfuels is the tim frame involved: substantial production is twelve to twent years away, but the negative effects begin the momer ground is broken. Thus, as M.I.T. economist Lester Thu ow points out, the politicians who must endure the blam for those painful initial shocks won't be around to tak credit for the benefits—benefits that are uncertain at best

In any event, it seems unlikely that Carter's monster pro gram will survive under the Republicans. First, Reagan ha promised both to increase military expenditures and, at th same time, to cut taxes. Since a large percentage of th Federal budget represents statutory obligations (entitlemen programs, interest and so on), this puts programs like syn fuels, which *can* be cut, in extreme jeopardy. Second, i their 1980 platform is to be taken seriously, the Republican see no need for Government action on behalf of synfuels According to the platform, "the decontrol of oil and gas prices will eliminate any necessity for government support for a synthetic fuel industry except possibly for limited demonstration projects."

This position is at odds with the real world; a synfuels industry simply cannot develop without Government involvement.

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This is because, to begin with, the actual production costs OPEC oil are a minuscule fraction (40 cents per barrel in di Arabia) of its sale price. As Thurow points out, if EC wanted to prevent synfuels production in the United tes, it could simply eliminate the market for it by reduc- the price of its own oil below the synfuels production t. No U.S. company is about to sink $2 billion into a new l liquefaction plant without a guarantee from the vernment that it won't be undercut.

Furthermore, since U.S. firms have no experience build- such plants, the first plant of each type is bound to suf- from false starts and mistakes. The cost of subsequent nts will decline and stabilize as their developers learn m experience; but in the absence of strong Government entives, what company is about to do its competitors a or by plunging into a bath of red ink on the first plant? Finally, in the United States, land use and water use are domain of the states, and a synfuels industry would re- ire prodigious amounts of both. Left to their own vices, can the states be expected to divert these scarce ources from other users so the rest of the country can ve more fuel?

In the end, the United States has only three options with gard to liquid fuels: we can continue to rely on foreign oil, place it with new domestic production, or reduce our con- nption. If the first option is unacceptable, and the second probable, we are left with only the third option: conserva- n.

Reagan did not exactly go overboard for conservation in campaign; in fact, his remarks on energy were more niniscent of a remark by the head of the Texas Railroad mmission: "This country did not conserve its way to eatness. It produced its way to greatness." Increased pro- ction is often advocated over conservation on the sumption that energy consumption must increase if real oss national product is to increase; and, conversely, that ro energy growth means zero economic growth. For- nately, this position is heard less and less nowadays as idence mounts to the contrary. Certainly, other in- strialized nations get by on far less energy per unit of .N.P. than we do (e.g., West Germany, 73 percent less, d France, 54 percent less, in 1976). Moreover, there is no rect relationship between energy use and increase in G.N.P. udies show that in the United States the ratio of the former the latter fluctuated from .93 down to .41 during the ars 1970 through 1978.

Then there are analyses by the Energy Policy Project of e Ford Foundation (in 1975) and the American Physical ociety (in 1976), which identify various efficiency im- rovements in the residential, industrial and transportation ectors (for example, utilizing heat pumps for space cooling nd heating, generating electricity as a byproduct of in- ustrial steam, etc.) that, if they had been in operation in 973, would have decreased energy consumption by 60 per- ent without lowering G.N.P. or altering consumer behav- or—and would have done so using existing technology. More ecently, the long-awaited report of the Committee on Nuclear nd Alternative Energy Systems of the National Research Council concurs, albeit tentatively because of a lack of "conclusive" evidence, that the ratio of energy input to G.N.P. in the United States could be reduced by one-half to two-thirds its 1973 value with no significant impact on real personal income.

Energy conservation can be achieved by three means: *(1) curtailment*, or a forced reduction in supply (e.g., gas rationing); *(2) life-style change*, ranging from the modest (turning down the heat) to the radical (outlawing new suburbanization); and *(3) reinvestment*, or the gradual improvement and replacement of our capital stock. Curtailment is so disruptive that it is useful only as a last resort, and the task of inducing or enforcing life-style changes is such a treacherous one for politicians that we cannot expect much from it. This leads us to the third and by far most promising conservation strategy: reinvestment.

Conservation-oriented reinvestment is ultimately motivated by the cost of energy, or more precisely, by the expectation that its cost will continue to rise in the future. Since price-decontrol programs are now underway for domestic oil and "new" natural gas, future cost increases are a certainty, and thus there is no question that even the normal turnover of our capital stock—plants, machinery, equipment, vehicles—will result in a gradual increase in efficiency. Moreover, this trend will only be reinforced under the Reagan Administration. While decontrol of domestic oil will be complete by October of this year, decontrol of new gas is being phased in through 1985, and price controls remain on "old" gas. But if their platform is to be believed, the Republicans intend to "immediately and completely dismantle all remaining energy price controls and subsidies." In this event, future cost increases would be both larger and more rapid than under present conditions.

Price-induced conservation is not without problems of its own. However desirable price increases are in terms of the economy as a whole, they obviously hit poor people harder, since the lower one's income is the greater the percentage one spends directly and indirectly on energy. The poorest tenth of the population spends an estimated 34 percent of before-tax income on energy, the highest tenth only 5 percent. There is also some geographic variation: people in the Northeast, for example, spend an average of 11.4 percent of their income on energy; those in the West only 8.5 percent. Such built-in inequities explain why strong sentiment for reimposition of price controls persists—among liberal Democrats at least.

Another inhibitor is the slow rate of replacement of the capital stock. Automobiles, for example, turn over at a rate of only 8 percent a year, and many types of industrial equipment are even longer lived. Government can accelerate the turnover rate by tax incentives, such as the trivial 10 percent tax credit for fuel-conserving expenditures included in the 1978 Energy Act, but the value of such general incentives is questionable. A lot of expenditures that are subsidized under such incentives would have been made anyway, particularly with the prod of deregulated prices; in those instances the govern-

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ment (the taxpayer) incurs a cost but gains nothing in return. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the recipient of the credit won't use his new fuel-conserving equipment to produce more output with the same amount of energy, rather than the same output with less. Thus, while energy waste is unquestionably reduced, absolute consumption of energy may not be.

Both the above problems can be, if not eliminated, at least mitigated to a great extent. The first simply requires some form of rebate to low-income households; this rebate must be in hard cash, however, not a tax exemption, since the poor pay few or no taxes. In regard to the second problem, tax incentives can be far more effective if they are targeted to certain expenditures that both promise large reductions in consumption and are otherwise unlikely to be made. The conversion of oil- and gas-fired boilers to coal, where feasible, is one such target; another is cogeneration of industrial steam and power (in which fuel that is normally burned at 3600 degrees Fahrenheit to produce steam at 400 degrees Fahrenheit or lower is instead first utilized to drive a turbine generator). The potential of cogeneration *alone* has been estimated as the equivalent of 680,000 barrels of oil per day (according to Dow Chemical for the National Science Foundation), and up to 2.5 million barrels per day by the year 2000 (according to Robert Williams of the Princeton Center for Environmental Study).

Idealistic platforms and the euphoric remarks of advisers do tend to evaporate once a new administration faces the hard realities of governing, so forecasting energy poli under Reagan is a pitfall I intend to avoid. However, t latitude Reagan has in making and implementing policy w be constrained by the factors I have mentioned, which a reasonably certain to be with us for the next few years. T price of energy will continue to go up; synfuels will not pl a major role in this century and domestic oil and natural g production won't bail us out or reduce our vulnerability OPEC.

Renewable sources, particularly "active" solar, and o to-coal conversion have some potential to reduce oil co sumption. But the Republican platform does not even me tion solar power, giving some idea of the party's prioritie The platform does promise "improved" tax incentives f coal conversion, along with relaxation of air-quality regul tions. The major impetus to both, however, will be the ri in oil and gas prices due to decontrol. The major uncertain for both is whether the fledgling solar and stagnant coal i dustries can gear up to deliver on a large scale. Thus, conse vation may be the major contributor to oil-imports redu tion. This conclusion is an inevitable deduction from tl "givens": a certainty of higher prices and a dearth of viab alternatives in this century.

When asked to describe what White House energy poli would be under Reagan, energy adviser Halbouty replie 'Production, production, production!" But "Conserv tion, conservation, conservation!" may turn out to be clos to the mark.

EXCHANGE.

(Continued From Page 2)

their ideology"? In essence, Neier contends that feminists actually *want* what is probably a huge number of women (and female children) to be brutalized because that would provide ammunition with which to advance the feminist cause, as if the feminist cause were not, first and foremost, the physical welfare of women. This is akin to suggesting that Zionists are grateful for the Holocaust because it generated a lot of press, or saying the civil rights movement sure got a lot of mileage out of slavery. In short, it's a distortion, an insult and an easy and specious way of evading the disturbing human-rights implications of the issue besides.

The reason certain feminists have created a clamor over *Ordeal* is not that they *want* it to speak for anyone who appears in pornography, it's that they *fear* it may speak for some, and they believe it's imperative to find out whether or not it does. Neier may be able to say, "to my knowledge, there is no evidence," and drop the topic at that. But in a society where one out of four female children will be sexually molested by the age of 18, where a reported rape occurs once every three minutes and where a woman is beaten once every eighteen seconds, making woman battery *the* single most common crime, some women are starting to realize there's a real danger in believing that what you don't know won't hurt you, or the kid next door.

Mary Ellen Donovan

NEIER REPLIES

New York City

(1) I attributed the claim that Linda Lovelace is representative of women who appear in pornography to "a segment of the feminist movement" that includes Women Against Pornography and Gloria Steinem, not to feminists generally. Steinem wrote in *Ms.* that Lovelace is a "microcosm" of women and that her account of her ordeal is "a message of hope and strength to other women living in sexual servitude."

(2) Reversing field, Mary Ellen Donovan contends that Lovelace probably *is* representative, and she cites definitions of degradation and violence. This hardly answers my assertion that there is n evidence that coercion is widely prac ticed in the United States today to mak women appear in pornography.

(3) My article did not mention "kiddi porn." I favor criminal prosecution c those who use children in pornography While kiddie porn is a serious problem Donovan's figures on the number o children involved are plucked out of th air.

(4) I don't believe that the feminist who regard Lovelace as emblematic wan women to be brutalized. I do believ that they contend Lovelace is repre sentative because she supplies the miss ing link between pornography and rape In her concluding paragraph, Donovai simply assumes this link.

(5) Donovan does not address my contention that there is an underlying antifeminism in this strain of feminis thought. I cited nineteenth-century novels about women coerced into prostitution to show the similarities between the views of feminists who regard Lovelace as representative and antiquated views of women as pawns manipulated by men.

Aryeh Neier

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Guests and Prisoners

CHARLES SAWYER

Nightfrost in Prague: The End of Humane Socialism is that exceedingly rare phenomenon, an insider's account of ıe collision between two Communist ates. Written by Zdenek Mlynar, a ɔrmer member of the Czechoslovak olitburo now exiled in Vienna, it takes s into the highest reaches of the remlin as the Czech reform Governıent of Alexander Dubcek fights for its fe during the Prague Spring of 1968. Mlynar's book (Karz Publishers, 1980) ıakes particularly instructive reading ow that Soviet troops threaten to epeat the drama, this time in Poland. omewhat less instructive, but compelng nonetheless, is a two-hour TV 'docudrama" based on *Nightfrost in Prague*, produced by Granada Televiion in England. Called *Invasion*, the ramatization—edited down to an hour nd a half—was scheduled to appear on ABC-TV January 1.

Mlynar is the highest ranking official ince Trotsky to come to the West from Communist country. His book weaves hree threads: the story of his Stalinist outh, his education as a lawyer in Moscow, his maturation as a politician nd his attainment of power; the story f Dubcek's rise and the birth of reform Communism, called "socialism with a uman face"; and the story of the oviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and ubsequent "negotiations" in the remlin when the Soviet Politburo foribly extracted a renunciation of hunane socialism from Dubcek and his uling circle. The television rendering is levoted solely to the last of these three, tarting with the moment when word eached Dubcek and his associates durng a late night meeting in party headquarters that the invasion had begun.

Invasion's three producers, Eva Kolouchova, Leslie Woodhead and David Boulton, have clearly striven for a high standard of accuracy. Kolouchova is herself an exiled Czech émigré who was tried and sentenced in absentia for her student activism in the period leading up to the Prague Spring. She worked closely with Mlynar in preparing the shooting script. Every line of dialogue, every cut and every shot, passed his scrutiny. To insure that the English re-creation would be faithful to events, Woodhead, who also directed the film, traveled to Prague where, posing as a tourist, he gained admission to the party presidium building.

The opening scenes include black-and-white documentary footage of the real Dubcek and the streets of Prague jammed with crowds swarming around Russian tanks. This file footage is skillfully blended with Granada's color film, shot on location in Manchester and surrounding Lancashire. The viewer is instantly engaged and remains so as the re-creation unfolds. Inevitably, the docudrama form sometimes oversimplifies events. And the actors appear coached to play the Czech leaders like law professors and the Russians like mafiosi. One can easily forget that all the characters portrayed on the screen were politicians who rose through the ranks of a totalitarian system.

Despite its dramatic flaws, however, *Invasion* offers an absorbing account of international treachery that should dispel any doubts about the imperialist nature of Soviet foreign policy. We have seen countless pictures of Soviet tanks menacing demonstrators in the streets of East European capitals, but *Invasion* shows for the first time Soviet assault troops bursting into Dubcek's office and taking the top party leaders prisoners. This scene and the sight of Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the C.P.C., locked in a Soviet armored personnel carrier make clear to us that the formalities of international law are of little consequence to the Russians when they believe their empire is threatened.

The details of those early hours of the invasion and the critical first seven days after the troops arrived, as offered us now by Mlynar, corroborate the view that the Soviet plan called for a repeat of the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolt. A pro-Soviet group within the C.P.C. was to declare itself a new government and invite the Warsaw Pact forces to restore order and guarantee Soviet-style socialism, thereby providing the desired veneer of legitimacy. The Soviet plan unraveled almost from the beginning. The groundwork was inadequately laid, the Soviet surrogates inside Dubcek's camp proved indecisive and no one had counted on President Ludvik Svoboda, the doddering marshal, to rise to the occasion.

Svoboda refused to recognize any government formed while the Czech leaders were in the custody of a foreign power and further refused to negotiate until they were released. In a display of naïveté typical of so many Czechs, he believed the whole affair was a mere misunderstanding and that by simply meeting Comrade Brezhnev the mess could "all be sorted out." The Russians agreed to receive Svoboda in Moscow and to produce Dubcek and the other officials who had been kidnapped and flown out of the country in the early hours of the invasion. Under Svoboda's leadership, they began debating a joint protocol to "normalize" relations between the two countries.

The overall scenario may not have gone according to the Russians' original plan but as matters worked out they achieved all their aims without the putsch. (The plan failed, according to Mlynar, only because the Moscow faction lacked the nerve to ignore the official presidium agenda on the eve of the invasion when they were supposed to have overthrown Dubcek—thereby losing essential time.) How the Kremlin could have had such complete success despite the failure of its plan is the most remarkable aspect of the story, and here Mlynar's testimony is invaluable.

Mlynar was selected to join the Czech delegation in the Kremlin primarily because he alone among the ruling circle had attended the emergency Plenary Session of the C.P.C., convened in secret in a factory on the outskirts of Prague. He went to Moscow as a representative of the rank-and-file party members who had voted overwhelmingly that no negotiations should begin until the leadership had been released and the troops withdrawn. Yet, like all the rest of the Czechs in the Kremlin, save one, Mlynar ultimately signed the document recanting the Prague Spring. Here *Invasion* is particularly strong, catching the palpable fear of men at once guests and prisoners in the Kremlin. When not

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exploiting the intrigues among the Czech leaders, the Russians applied all means of persuasion, from threats of permanent incarceration to blandishments of sex and alcohol. And watching Mlynar view his countrymen bullying one another into rationalizing their capitulation provides a sense of true tragedy. If he can be called an apologist in any sense it is only because he stresses the concern felt by him and the other hostage/delegates that bloodshed would follow in Prague unless they returned home soon with some form of an agreement—something, anything that they could hold up to their people to reassure them.

The most revealing scene of the film comes when Mlynar is at last persuaded to sign the protocols. Then we see that he and his colleagues believed their reforms were so important that they were willing to sacrifice the independence of the country in order to save them. They thought that by holding on to nominal power they could still reform the system, but by placing politics above national sovereignty, they lost all.

Could they have responsibly refused to sign when Soviet troops were holding their country at gunpoint? The answer, more clearly drawn in the book than in the film, is provided in the contrast between Mlynar's self-portrait and his portrayal of Frantisek Kriegel, the lone holdout. Kriegel, a physician by training, stood out in the crowd of political intrigants who made up the ruling circle in Prague. He was an internationalist: he fought in the International Brigade in Spain, spent the early 1940s in China and was posted to Havana as an adviser on public health matters in the early 1960s. In August 1968 he was a member of the presidium and among those kidnapped by the Russians. When Mlynar arrived at the Kremlin on August 25 to join the signing delegation, Kriegel was missing. The Russians said he was being held elsewhere in Moscow.

Once the text of the protocols had been drafted and all present had agreed to sign, Kriegel was brought in to join his former colleagues. As Mlynar describes Kriegel, he was a man who had settled all accounts and considered himself doomed. Beside his adamant decision not to sign any document while he was held against his will, the mental gymnastics of Mlynar and the others to justify their signing look like foolish sophistry. Mlynar does not shrink from this unpleasant truth, nor does *Invasion*. "I am no longer a politician, I'm only a prisoner," Mlynar quotes Kriegel as saying to his former colleagues.

Kriegel's fear for his life and liberty were well-founded. As Dubcek and the others were preparing for the return flight to Prague after the signing ceremony, it emerged that the Russians intended to keep Kriegel as a guarantee of the good behavior of the chastened Czechoslovak leaders. Dubcek and Svoboda refused to leave without him, and eventually the Russians relented.

Reports differ as to what Kriegel thought of Mlynar's memoir. Granada producers Kolouchova and Woodhead made contact with Kriegel through intermediaries in Prague and found him willing to consult on writing the script based on Mlynar's book, a fact which suggests rough approval. (Contact with Kriegel was extremely difficult owing to police surveillance; see the account of my attempt to interview him in *The Nation*, October 8, 1977.) According to Kolouchova, Kriegel's only reservation was that Mlynar had characterized the process in the Kremlin leading up to the signing of the Moscow protocols as negotiations of a sort. Kriegel remained firm until the very last that the protocols were the result of blackmail and that all the Czechoslovak officials present in the Kremlin that week were political prisoners, not negotiators. Kriegel died in late 1979 before he could offer any critical comments on the *Invasion* script. The authorities in Prague cremated his body in secret and prevented mourners from holding any memorial service. Five months passed before relatives were able to obtain his ashes.

Of all Mlynar's testimony the most ominous is his account of what Brezhnev said when the two Politburos sat down to sign the documents ending the Prague Spring. According to Mlynar, Brezhnev declared that Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe had been purchased with the sacrifices of the Red Army in World War II. To compromise it would desecrate that sacrifice and reverse the result of that war. Rather than risk that he was prepared to risk another war—even World War III. Brezhnev's glowering commitment to that course is perhaps the most telling moment in *Invasion*. Even if Mlynar is reporting accurately, a certain measure of hyperbole can doubtless be attributed to Brezhnev's outburst as well as to the docudramatization of it. Nevertheless, it is hardly reassuring for those who watch sympathetically the tentative experiment with pluralism now underway in Poland. □

South Africa's Censorship Yo-Yo

TAMAR JACOBY

WHAT HAPPENED TO BURGER'S DAUGHTER, OR HOW SOUTH AFRICAN CENSORSHIP WORKS. *By Nadine Gordimer, John Dugard, Richard Smith, Director of Publications, Committee of Publications, Publications Appeal Board, The Press. Taurus. 74 pp.*

As part of a new and apparently more open policy, the South African Government has in recent months revoked its own decisions to ban works by well-known white novelists Nadine Gordimer and James Michener. The Publications Appeal Board has also recently lifted the ban imposed on *Store Up the Anger*, a novel by the South African writer Wessel Ebersohn about the killing by the security police of a young black nationalist leader who will remind many readers of Steve Biko. And there have even been appeals by the Director of Publications on behalf of an anthology of African writers and the literary magazine, *Staffrider*, published by a group of militant blacks. The unbannings are part of a growing effort to defuse revolutionary pressures by reform from within; plans to finance compulsory education for all children, for instance, and a new law allowing black workers to join independent trade unions. But although the recent unbannings may mean that South Africans are now, in some small way, freer to read and write what they like, this new freedom should by no means be mistaken as a sign that the Nationalist regime is willing to recognize its critics

Tamar Jacoby has written for The Nation, The New York Review of Books, Commonweal *and* The San Francisco Review of Books.

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to renounce the kinds of measures it eds to enforce apartheid.

Nadine Gordimer's novel, *Burger's aughter*, was embargoed and banned South Africa in June 1979. The port of the committee that ruled ainst it is reprinted in full—a repro-uction of the original typed document nt to Gordimer's lawyer in Johan-sburg—in *What Happened to urger's Daughter*, a booklet recently sued by the South African publisher aurus, a small nonprofit house tablished in 1975 to protest literary nsorship. The committee charged ordimer with indecency and blas-emy, but also with propagating Com-unism and encouraging a black volution. Twenty page references are ted and four specific passages quoted full to prove that the novel "brings a ction of the inhabitants of the epublic into ridicule and contempt." ut the gravest accusation is that the ork "is harmful to the relations be-een sections of the inhabitants of e Republic"—a charge echoed in a inority report attached at the end of e document, which implies that Gor-mer is unbalanced, and speculates sterically about "the effect [the book] going to have on the reading public."

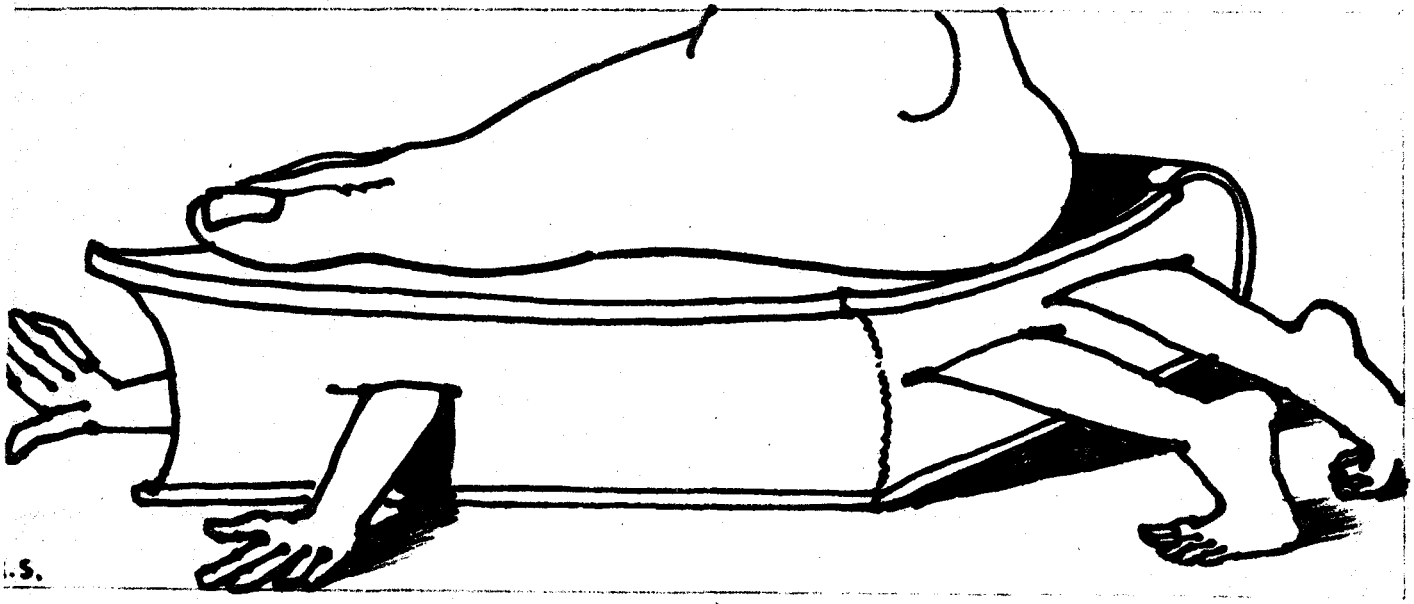
It is clear enough—even without ading the novel itself, or Gordimer's ply to the accusations, or the report of e Board that later unbanned the ook—that the first decision by the ensorship Committee was based on asty and exaggerated reactions to pas-ges cited out of context. Gordimer's ovel tells the story of Rosa Burger, a oung white woman, daughter of two evoted Communist leaders, who is try-ing to sort out her own snarled ambiva-lence about what it means to be com-mitted to a political cause. "The theme of my novel," Gordimer writes plainly in the Taurus booklet, "is human con-flict between the desire to live a per-sonal, private life, and the rival claim of social responsibility to one's fellow men —human advancement."

In many of the passages quoted disapprovingly by the Censorship Com-mittee, Rosa is in fact reappraising her father's Communist beliefs. In others, she is mocking what she sees as the automatic clichés of "the faithful"—party members and revolutionaries. Yet other passages cited by the Board reproduce the rhetoric that Rosa hears among black militants in Soweto and at a meeting of a London anti-apartheid group—arguments often shown by Gordimer to be crudely prejudiced and simplistic. Again and again, Gordimer's defense, responding to the committee's charges, is that "the irony of the passage is absolutely clear, in context."

The committee quotes selectively, often misquotes, conflates paragraphs in a misleading way and entirely ig-nores Gordimer's deftly skeptical treat-ment of any kind of doctrinaire political ideology. This much was clear to the group of literary experts called in when the Director of Publications appealed the decision of his own Censorship Committee—an appeal made without explanation, although one is required by law. "I am deeply shocked," wrote one expert, Prof. P. J. H. Titlestad, "by the crudity of this report and am com-pelled to comment that this report is an example of the kind of reading that the very existence of a censorship system in-evitably creates the tendency towards." The extreme and libelous tone of the censors' decision was so embarrassing that the committee of experts wondered in its own report "whether the asser-tions about Nadine Gordimer's com-munistic beliefs and psychological state could be made in public, even if true."

And yet, as Gordimer points out in her curt introduction to the Taurus booklet, the Appeal Board's approval of the book was in its perhaps more sophisticated way no less dismissive or damaging to her work. They revoked the ban on *Burger's Daughter*, in spite of its "derogatory language" and "undesirable" political leanings, only because they were confident that "as a result of its one-sidedness the effect of the book will be counter-productive rather than subversive." When Pro-fessor Titlestad argued that "censorship can be counter-productive"—because it might encourage an inflammatory left-ist interest in the book—he was by no means renouncing what he sees as his Government's right to decide, however arbitrarily, what can and cannot be published in South Africa.

Gordimer's own defense is for the most part crisp and quiet in tone. Her two principal arguments are that the of-fending statements are her characters', not her own, and also that her novel is an accurate picture of the situation in her country today. When the Censor-ship Committee cites one character's remark that "apartheid is the dirtiest social swindle the world has ever known," Gordimer does not defend the statement. She merely notes: "Daily, in journals and newspapers and in the forums of the world, apartheid is called



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far worse things." She does not mock the crudity of the committee's reading, and her answers are rarely defiant. This somewhat muffled tone turns out to be entirely appropriate in the face of the censors' exaggerated charges. Perhaps her most powerful answer is a simple statement of fact:

> Black people shot by the police, detentions, imprisonment, the uprooting and removal of communities, bannings which outlaw people from normal concourse; all of these are true facts of life in South Africa.

Although it is unclear from the cover and title page who put together the Taurus pamphlet, the strategy is consistent throughout. It is a cool, reserved defense lightened by a touch of humor: a cartoon by Richard Smith of a ridiculously crotchety censorship committee. The brief statement at the end of the booklet by the South African legal scholar John Dugard—an account of Pretoria's censorship laws and some statistics about recent rulings—is quietly reasoned, careful not to seem provocative. Unlike Gordimer and others who refuse to participate in any proceedings of the Publications Appeal Board, Dugard believes in "using the available machinery" to achieve changes from within. He recently defended Wessel Ebersohn's novel before the Appeal Board, and says he is hopeful for reform.

Yet his report in the Taurus booklet hardly gives a hopeful picture. He explains that the Government can exercise prior restraint as well as retroactive censorship; that in principle there is no appeal to a court of law, and that although recent statements by the Board indicate a literary "understanding which was previously absent," in fact statistics show that since 1975 there has been a marked increase in the number of books banned for political reasons. Both he and Gordimer point out that in reviewing her case the Appeal Board would have been particularly sensitive to public opinion—aware of Gordimer's literary reputation and the admiring reviews that *Burger's Daughter* had received both in South Africa and abroad. Dugard concludes with some skepticism:

> If this arbitrary approach is employed by a committee when it is on its guard, how much more arbitrary is it likely to be when it is dealing with the work of a relatively unknown writer, particularly a black one.

Another, more recent decision by the Publications Appeal Board involved the well-known American writer James Michener. In the case of his novel, *The Covenant*, both banning and unbanning were apparently much simpler decisions, uncomplicated by divisions between the Director and the Board or by the considerations of general principle that arose in connection with Gordimer's book. The initial charges were routine—the novel was said to be prejudicial to good relations between the races—and no specific passages were cited. A *pro forma* appeal was made by the local representative of Michener's British publisher, Secker and Warburg, and some six weeks after it was banned, *The Covenant* was unbanned, without a public statement of any kind.

It is not difficult to imagine what the censors found to criticize in Michener's novel—a book they were fairly certain would appeal to a less sophisticated and therefore larger audience than the one interested in Gordimer's work. *The Covenant* includes a number of damning scenes: the torture of a suspected rebel, forced removals of black families from a "white area" of Johannesburg and the monkey trial of a provincial family of good standing that is reclassified as "colored" when it is discovered that there was a mixed marriage in the family some time during the seventeenth century. But Michener's panoramic sweep leaves little room for moral outrage, and on the whole *The Covenant* is, as he claims, an "ecumenical" book. The author admires the Afrikaners' pioneering determination and is hopeful for their future in South Africa.

Unlike Gordimer, Michener does no. make any claims to irony or other subtleties of tone. But he does point out in his own defense that his book is accurate picture, and that even darkest of his hints about future—the suggestion by the lead Afrikaner in the book that white So Africans may be forced to retreat to enclave around Cape Town—has b borne out by recent events: an app for such a white homeland was made the conservative theologian C Boshoff, the new head of the Broed bond secret society.

Yet there is little in any official st ment by the Publications Appeal Bo to indicate that considerations of curacy figure into their decisions ab whether or not a work is "undesirabl On the contrary, what is remarka about the document banning *Burg Daughter* is the length to which Government seems able to go on de ing conditions in South Africa. mention the Soweto riots is to stir revolution, according to the Censors Committee. Nor is it to be hinted t the South African police are brutal, hat banning without warrant or tria arbitrary and indefensible.

The Government denies not only own repressive tactics but even the fa that relations between the races strained and revolutionary pressure building. The difference between So Africa and other repressive regin where censorship is accepted as a mat of course is the intense righteousn that comes with Afrikaner traditio strict Calvinist piety and a firm belie the rule of law. But it is in large part t righteousness that makes censors necessary there: the Afrikaner feels must deny the contradictions betw his honorable principles and the justice of apartheid.

This attempt to justify Governm policy is clear enough in the discussi of general principles in the docum revoking the ban on *Burger's Daught* The literary experts show a concern w juridical precedents and even cha pion the democratic tenet of legitim opposition. One of the consultants al talks at length—in a highly abstr vein—about the relation between t literary merit of a work and its possi subversive intent. But there is som thing disappointingly vague and inco clusive about the discussion, and o cannot help suspecting throughout th the real reasons for the Board's de sions go unmentioned in the documents.

An element of theater is u mistakable in the banning, intern

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eal and subsequent unbanning. ere is a concern to please all factions the audience, not just the extreme it wing within South Africa—people the National Party leader Andries urnicht who believe that there has n quite enough change for the time ng—but also foreigners, whether in- ectuals or investors, watching the ntry from afar. For however de- it Pretoria may seem in the face of ernal pressure for reform, the regime letermined to prove that apartheid is rally respectable.

More lenient censorship standards l mean important changes in the ith African climate. But it would be lish to expect that censorship will dually be abolished or that decisions l not continue to be arbitrary. For all literary experts' concern with mat- of principle, it is political expedien- that has recently made it necessary to ix the rules, and could easily make it essary to tighten them again tomor- v. The Board may still operate in sed session if it wishes; it is not re- red to offer any reasons for its deci- ns or to hear a defense by the accused. Some factions within the Board now ognize that their own proceedings y have a worse reflection on the vernment than much of what is said the 15,000 books they have banned ce 1948. They are fully aware that sorship can encourage more militant position, not only among educated ites but also among black South ricans. And they hope that by relax- their standards, they will let off ough pressure to prevent a more lent outburst.

It is clear from the document unban- g *Burger's Daughter* that the censors ognize that "strong and derogatory guage is a typical feature of the uth African scene." The regime ms to recognize that it cannot go on aying what is happening in the coun- . Yet it continues to use censorship to miss opposition, snidely belittling rdimer's "political criticism" as both teless and so extreme that it is unlike- to appeal to a significant number of aders. In permitting the Taurus book- to be published at all, the Govern- ent is taking a calculated risk: it bur- shes a democratic image while main- ining the barriers of apartheid. But less the Government is prepared to ake a great many more changes than it s indicated it is willing to make, it ems unlikely that the censors can af- rd to be much more tolerant. □

Prominent activists called the Greensboro verdict a

"LICENSE to SHOOT and KILL"

Despite strong videotape evidence, six Klansmen and Nazis have been acquitted of all murder charges in Greensboro, North Carolina. Significantly, two important witnesses were never called to testify: Edward Dawson, a Greensboro police informer who led the Klan caravan into Greensboro and Bernard Butkovich of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Treasury Department, who attended planning meetings before November 3rd.

A major civil rights suit was filed on November 3, 1980 in the U.S. District Court, Middle District of North Carolina. The $37 million class action suit is on behalf of the victims of November 3rd and all anti-racist, militant labor organizers in the South who have been victimized by government complicity in right-wing violence since 1968. All branches of the federal government have repeatedly refused to investigate the Greensboro Massacre. Act now to support this critical effort against the rise of Klan violence and government repression.

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'Windows on the Third World'

JOE FLAHERTY

The voice on the other end of the phone, fellow writer and friend Robert Vare, offered the only remaining proposition (in the wake of Anita Bryant's confession of sin) with any decadent cachet: "How would you like to go on a junket?" Visions of corpulent Congressmen tinkering with foreign governments and floozies danced in my head. When Vare added, "to Havana," I wondered if my local Good Humor man would part with his white suit.

The allure of the invitation was heightened by several factors. It came when our nation was engaged in the Lilliputian struggle between Pet Rocks Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, so a chance to view any alternative social system was attractive. Also, like Graham Greene, I'm a daylight atheist, so I thought one might have a spiritual reawakening in a place where for decades sin, sorrow and poverty had formed an unholy trinity.

And as a sporting man, I thought Cuba had much to offer. Not just the contemporary interest of such demigods as Teofilo Stevenson and Alberto Juantorena but in Premier Fidel Castro himself. One of the first questions Castro was supposed to have asked when he descended from the Sierra Maestra was why the Braves hadn't given their sensational rookie pitcher, Carlton Wiley, a start in the 1958 World Series. After watching a string of disastrous American Presidents (Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford) who were football-oriented, I felt Fidel's horsehide query bespoke soul.

After the flight to Miami, a collection of travel writers and I boarded an American Air Ways (1840 West 49th Street, Hialeah, Florida 33012) DC-9 charter for Havana. The junket was put together to publicize American Air Ways' variety of Cuba tours. It was my first experience with travel writers, a breed that seems like a cross between sportswriters and vice cops in that they are strangers to the inside of their pants pockets. If this group had been hired to fight inflation, we would now be wearing "WON" buttons.

My conception of what I would find in Cuba was highly romantic, in a populist way. Being of the ashcan school of culture myself, I was prepared for four days of proletarian grandeur: ecstatic farmers singing odes to the earth; medical teams prowling the poorer sections of the city like apostles with acupuncture needles to cure the sick, lame and halt; children sinewed in body and mind by socialism; government officials flagellating themselves for the common cause; agnostic novenas being made to the sainted Ché, and women with legendary loins to spur revolutionary reproduction. Such fantasizing is hereditary: my mother and father left Ireland because in America the streets were paved with gold.

Arriving at Havana Airport, I was not disappointed. There were portraits of Marx, Lenin and Engels, the Tinker to Evers to Chance of revolution. Another poster featured a black Cuban cosmonaut blissfully sharing outer space with his white Russian brother. Getting one's luggage was no worse than in Los Angeles, and customs was uneventful until one veteran travel editor was found to be carrying a plastic bag of suspicious white seeds. This intrepid traveler, ever wary of local cuisines, always travels with a cache of sunflower seeds (plus four cans of Planter's cocktail peanuts and a hoard of peanut brittle) in case of famine.

After a lengthy discourse among the local officials on the hidden properties of this bizarre cargo, and their determination that our veteran was not Hunter Thompson, we boarded a bus to our hotel, the Riviera—Meyer Lansky's old haunt. Plastic flowers festooned the lobby in this tropical paradise, which might have been left over from the bar mitzvahs of children from the Brotherhood. All the glass in the hotel (indeed, all over Cuba) was badly in need of a window washer, a fact that I accepted as symbolism: history is clouded.

We were sent to our rooms with our press kits to rest up for the first evening out on the town, a meal and a nightclub show. I took this agenda to be a singular aberration, a bow to our decadent culture, one last frivolous bender before we were harshly exposed to the realities of spartan socialistic life the next mor ing. But in my room, thumbing throu my press kit, I began to get the unea feeling there might be cultural schiz phrenia at work in Cuba. My brochu informed me Fidel had plans to resto "old colonial Havana" (as an obje lesson in dead societies?) and I, simp tourist, could lunch in the old mansi of the Mellon family and dine just they did! Did this include abusing t help?

The evening meal was at La Tour, restaurant high up overlooking Hava ("Windows on the Third World," Va dubbed it). Over our objections that wanted to dine with "the people," were sequestered in a private roo Every man/woman of us was being socialistic as all get-out. But private di ing was to be our fate during the enti stay. If it weren't for the women in a tendance, we would have looked like road company of Paddy Chayevsky *Bachelor Party*.

After mundane airline food, n palate was set for some spicy Cub fare—pork, rice, black beans. Instea we got steak and French fries (had n teen-age son planned the menu?) a were told this was the food America crave. As I despaired, my travel writi colleagues eagerly ate and took note Certainly, such devotion to appeas ment hinted at training in Langle Virginia. Just as I was wondering whe I could seek out my sunflower seed a peanut brittle-toting fellow traveler, door swung open with a flourish, a three pyromaniacs appeared with flaming Baked Alaska. It was one of t dozen or so odd desserts I was presente in four days. It seemed we had be chosen to take up the slack of the U. sugar boycott.

Working on a dizzying Alaska hig heightened by Cuban rum, we were th transported to the Capri. The Capri, f all the celluloid heads, was the hot Hyman Roth bestowed on the Corleo family in *Godfather II*. This gave rise t pinstripe-suit speculation. Would o have to hold the maître d' by the ea while kissing him on the mouth for ringside table? And what would t band really be carrying in its fidd cases?

The nightclub was a profusion of co ors that seemed like a meld of Lit erace's wardrobe and Zsa Zsa Gabor' brain. Constellations of colored ligh flashed from every corner of the room The chorus "girls" were the only thing

Joe Flaherty is a perennially failed revolutionary—he managed Norman Mailer's campaign for Mayor of New York City in 1969.

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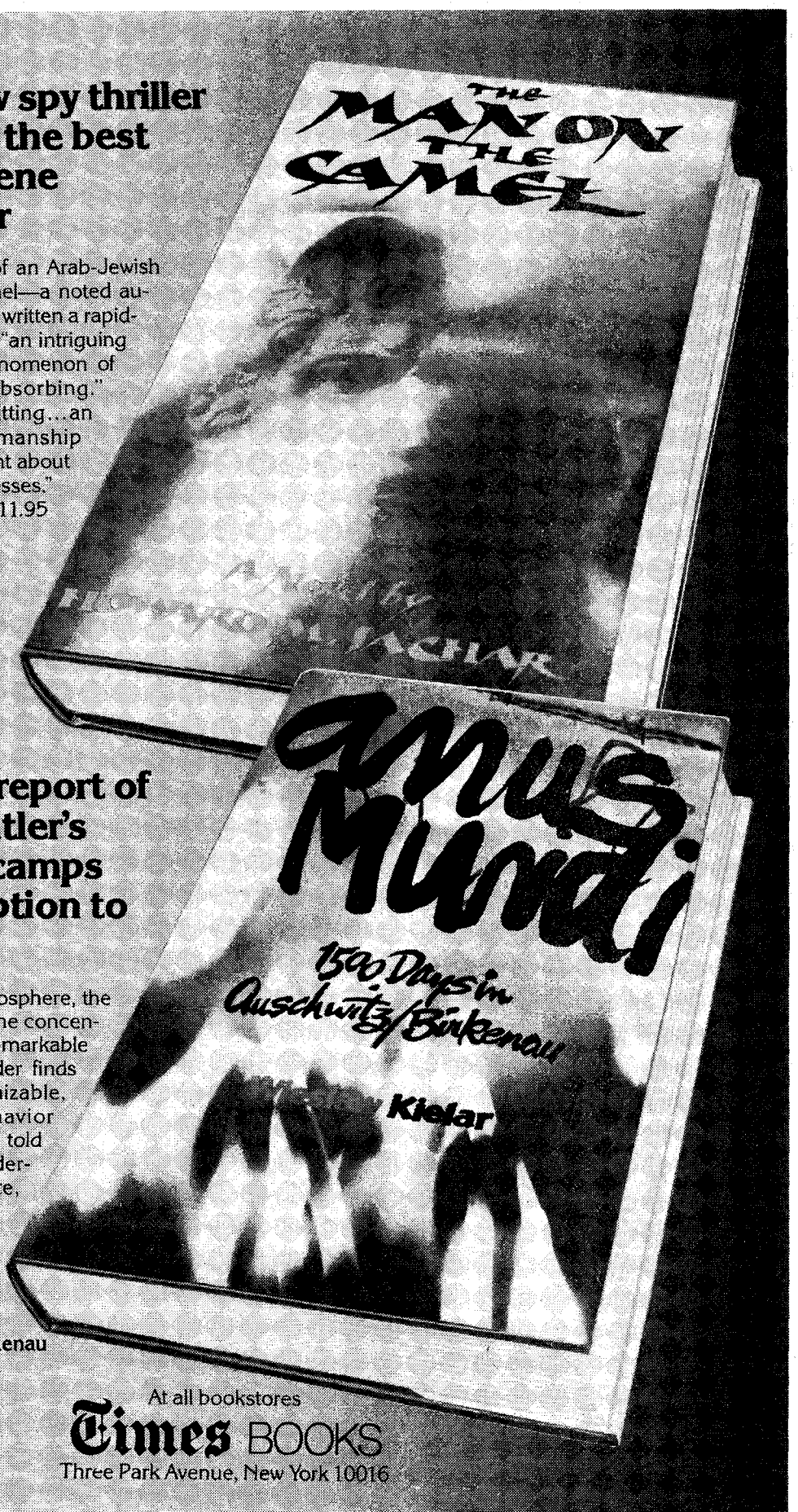

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in sight that were faded. They all looked like runners-up in the Miss Cellulite contest of 1950. The only revolutionary reason I could conjure up for these doxies was that they had been frozen as lost souls in the Batista days and were now thawed to perform capitalistic capers, thus sparing post-revolutionary women from such gaudy degradation.

But besides the faded bloom of these bygone beauties, there was an Eddie-and-Debbie innocence to the proceedings. Part of the floor show featured two aging, slightly corpulent singers wooing each other in a love duet. He: "Sí, sí, sí." She (wagging a finger): "No, no, no." Of course, any form of nudity was "no, no, no." The closest we came to flesh was when a chorine hoofed to stage edge, pulled her peasant blouse inches off her shoulder and shot me a devilish wink, like June Haver in *The Dolly Sisters*.

For one moment I thought the entertainment would become contemporary, when the female M.C. (a staple of all Cuban nightclub acts, as were the duets) stood onstage with a newspaper and began to read. I naïvely believed she was going to do a Mort Sahl on Fidel. It turned out the paper was twenty years old, and the jibes were aimed at the fallen Batista. "Reports say the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra are in disarray and near defeat." Great laughter. Not exactly a pertinent act, but it defies cancellation.

In fairness, modern times did intrude into this valentine of a show. After endless tunes of pristine billing and cooing, the curtain-closer offered two Martians or cosmonauts or antennaed beetles (take your choice) scampering about the stage for no logical reason. Perhaps, with the preludes of love, it was a pair of cosmonauts. Considering that Russian aid to Cuba is now $10 million per day, it could be construed as celestial passion.

When we inquired why we were getting the glitzy tour, we were informed Cuba needs the Yankee dollar to boost its sagging economy. Last year the tourist trade consisted of 27,000 Cuban expatriates, 17,000 Canadians and 4,000 Americans, a far cry from the days of the casinos and the time when Superman's magic wand wove a spell over awestruck audiences. Our group patiently explained that Americans wouldn't be attracted by 1950s innocence in lieu of fleshy Las Vegas or Atlantic City, not to mention other Caribbean hot spots. When we suggested tourists might prefer a view of the society, we were treated like dumb children. Shut up and eat your steak and French fries.

A Cuban Government official did try to placate us by telling us the tour was "silly" for a group of "intellectuals"—a sort of sugar fix for our I.Q.s. When I pursued the societal tack further and asked her about political prisoners, the woman replied, "That's not true. I have a brother-in-law who always speaks out against the Government, and nobody bothers him."

Our remaining days were spent seeing Cuba from a bus. Wandering was not encouraged. Colonial Cuba, battlements, a church, the waterfront ("where the prostitutes used to live until the Government banned prostitution and crime"). Varadero Beach and Hemingway's haunts, La Floridita and La Bodeguita. At the latter we had our best and most authentic Cuban meal. We went on a tour of Ernest's house, sort of. One wasn't allowed to enter because of past pilferage (understandable), but inexplicably, we also couldn't photograph through the open windows. Was this a bow to Ernest, who believed (as do some primitive cultures) that photos drain away the inner life of the subject? Through the windows we spotted five elk heads in the living room, and in various other rooms eight sets of antlers and seven other assorted animal heads. Beside Papa's pool were three graves of his dogs. Even subscribing to his photographic belief, it was hard to figure what more mayhem my Kodak Instamatic could do.

We did get one glimpse of the society when a group of us trekked off one afternoon to hear Fidel speak in the Plaza de la Revolución in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the C.D.R., the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. These groups, we were informed, quelled anti-revolutionary talk and sentiment. The huge crowd was festive and friendly to us, even when Fidel lambasted "imperialists." Resplendent in a red beret, he went on for two hours—a minor performance, a *compañero* told us. Aïda in her airless tomb was a mere spritzer.

Ah, but the nights! Under the stars in the Tropicana, a setting similar to the club in the Marx Brothers' *Coconuts*, we watched nonstop, disjointed acts on the main stage, while beauties (real this time) perched in the trees, continuous flapping their peacock costume wing Also, a rendition of "Babaloo" by young Desi without Lucy, or Fred a Ethel Mertz. Then fireworks, light duets, chorus lines, all giving rise to t notion that Busby Berkeley is the cor missar of Cuban culture. I haven't be so smitten since my prom night Trader Vic's.

There had to be an axiom in all th It could be socialistic schizophrenia, t eroding of the revolution, copping o to capitalism, or the redefinition of t revolutionary ethic. Then again, in t scurrilous, clinical, antiseptic age anything goes, perhaps Cuba is bent that most revolutionary course—tryi to bring romance back to the Weste Hemisphere. Viva la Revolución!

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Tess
Popeye

Roman Polanski's *Tess* ran f a week in New York and L Angeles and will be releas nationally in the spring. "Sp cial engagements" of this sort are p on every December by distributors eag to collect any Oscars that may be con ing to them before they actually sho their wares. It is a somewhat pushy ta tic, like sneaking ahead in a queue, b this time perhaps it is justified by ci cumstances. According to a *New Yo Times* background story, the film w turned down as "uncommercial" b several major distributors, and Colun bia Pictures, naturally enough, hop that two or three of those statuettes wi get the ball rolling, come spring.

Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urberville* which Polanski has brought to t screen with a gentleness that forc reappraisal of his reputation as a dire tor of savage scripts (*Knife in th Water, Chinatown,* a particularly brut *Macbeth*), is not addressed to the wag of sin but to the sin of sexism—a vic shared in this case by hero and villai alike. One could scarely ask for a mor timely subject, but nevertheless the in dustry's misgivings are understandable The novel is a romance and that is mode which today's movie audienc may find difficult to assimilate. It is ac customed to realism (often applied t uncommon, not to say sensational

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nts); it understands fantasy, satiric nedy, melodrama. But romance, in ch behavior is both elevated above l debased below the customary limits plausibility, can easily strike the ver as "innocent"—a fatal error in se hip times. Futhermore, the tyran- of men over women, if arguably no rse than in our era, was so much re overt and so entirely unchallenged he society of which Hardy wrote that may become impatient with what v seems a tempest in a teapot.

Polanski, who long since proved his ll at crowd catching, makes no con- sion to easy popularity in *Tess,* ich for him is clearly a labor of love. matches his pace to Hardy's prog- s through the story, developing it, as was written, in almost self-sufficient sodes, pausing for leisurely apprecia- n of the English countryside that the velist so loved (the film was in fact ot in France). Crucial encounters pass h only the slightest dramatic em- asis, though Polanski sometimes calls the full resources of the sound-track hestra to make sure we know that a dge has been crossed. It is the one y by which he reveals some doubt at the misty delicacy of the film's style l carry the force of its narrative. Har- 's novel never raises its voice (though times it preaches); its strength is in its placability—once the identity of the Urbervilles is disclosed, and that oc- rs on the first page, the rest follows as e as fate. The film does not preach, t it has a similar strength.

The story holds us, obviously ough, by the person of Tess. She is e of the darlings of nineteenth-cen- ry fiction; I think of her in the com- ny of Trollope's Lady Glencora and lstoy's Natasha, three women who ve little in common except that their thors so clearly loved them and en- wed them with a fragrance immune time. Nastassia Kinski is wonderfully ease in Polanski's title role. The scination of Tess is that she combines yness and abnegation with a spirit at flashes out as accurately as a rapier hen you scarcely expect it. Kinski is autiful, but that is the least of it. She nveys, it seems by her very quietness, ess's ability to endure pain without be- ming resigned to it, her capacity to bmit without loss of dignity. The oblem, which Polanski and his actress ve solved, was to convey the reserve at characterizes Hardy's heroine ithout allowing her to seem weak. Her presence, like her beauty, grows before your eyes; the picture is indeed a romance.

There were two men in Tess's life—Angel Clare, who idolized and married her, and Alec D'Urberville, who relished and used her—and it is an open question which of them treated her the more cruelly. Of the two roles, Clare's is the richer, since a good man who does harm is more complex than a bad man who acts according to his nature. Clare, until it was far too late, saw Tess as the disembodied spirit of purity; D'Urberville, in a way, understood her much better, but made the mistake, fatal for him, of thinking her just another vulnerable country girl. Peter Firth and Leigh Lawson bring the two men very much alive to the screen, though Lawson has a tendency to show his teeth and switch his riding crop: I can believe Alec would have done so, but we've had a good many stock rascals since Hardy's day.

Tess does not contain all of the novel, but it does honor to what it takes from the book. A few Oscars would not be out of order.

Robert Altman's *Popeye,* screenplay by Jules Feiffer from, of course, E. C. Segar's comic strip, comes to town at Christmastime, which is when the pantomimes hit the cities of England. I can believe it will join Balanchine's *Nutcracker* as an annual occasion for children's parties. I can't say that I approve, for I've set my face against violence without consequence. I'd rather a child of mine were exposed to the gory close-ups of *Raging Bull* than to the painless mayhem that passes for horseplay in the mythical seaport of Sweethaven. I grant it's funny—that's why I object.

That scruple aside, the film is notable for the uncanny accuracy and untiring agility of Robin Williams in the title role and for the plaintive fortitude of Shelley Duvall as his ever-loving Olive Oyl. I also enjoyed Paul Dooley as Wimpy, who has always seemed to me the most interesting of Segar's creatures. All the others are either good or bad: Wimpy, the hamburger addict, is depraved, which, dramatically speaking, is a higher state of being. The film, God knows, is lively enough, but nevertheless repetitive and predictable because, for all of Feiffer's talent as an inventor of one-liners and despite Altman's command over zany mass confusion, it must abide by Segar's somewhat specialized sense of humor. *Popeye* works hard to look right; the effort shows, and one might ask if it was really worth it. The picture moves at a dizzy speed, but keeps losing momentum (the cast seems to be called to order every few minutes for yet another round of hilarity). A fortune was spent to create Sweethaven (on the island of Crete) and endless patience went into costumes, makeup and special effects. But for all that, the movie is less vivid than the comic strip; it is obediently secondhand.

The fact that it is a musical helps, for the score is fetching and all the voices ingratiatingly terrible. And then there is the incredible Wesley Ivan Hurt as Swee'Pea, the year-old foundling. How this alert, not to say knowing, performance was coaxed out of an authentic infant, I cannot imagine. The effect is terrifyingly precocious, but I comfort myself that there's a trick to it. All in all, I'm not sorry I saw *Popeye,* but I would have left at any time if my elbow had been tugged. After all, brevity is the soul of a comic strip, and this one goes on for nearly two hours. □

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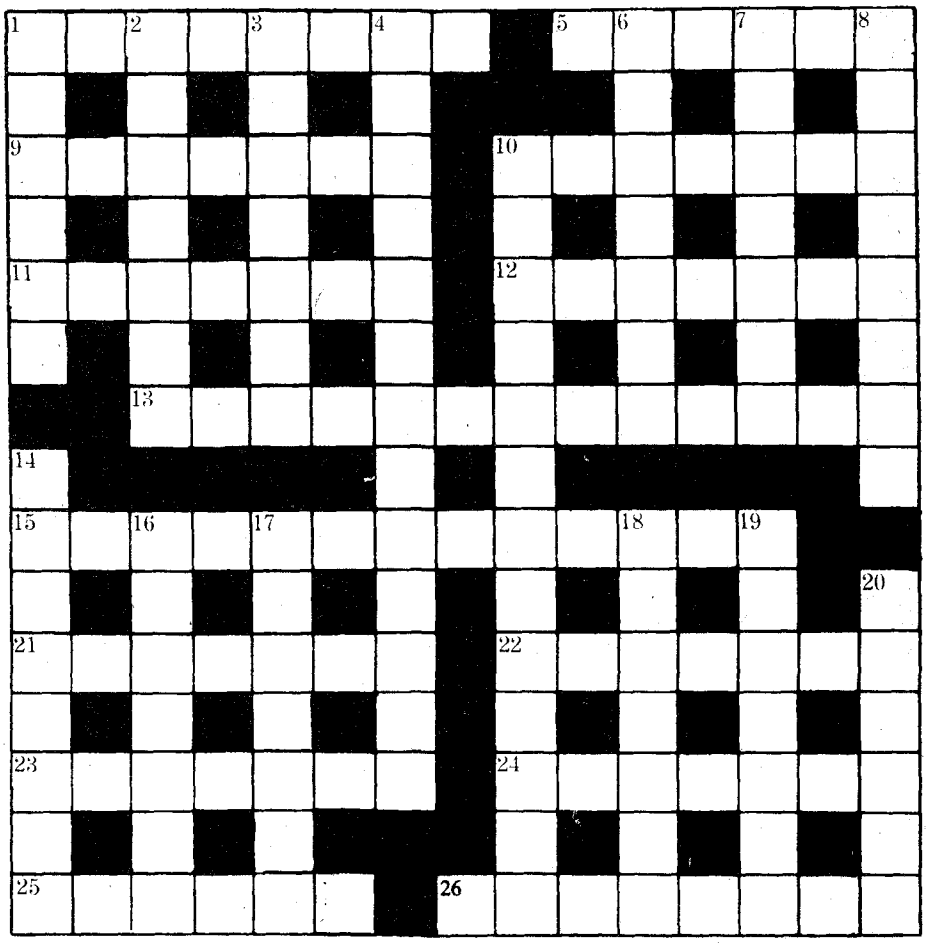

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1, 5 and 10 down Be frugal with the heater, as they used to say, and a little one will be ruined. (5,3,3,3,5,3,5)
9 Where to look for a character of Ulysses, as a tree might be. (2,5)
10 People might before driving with what might be old seats. (7)
11 Poet—one of the Flower People? (7)
12 An actor might go from one to six in a difficult role. (7)
13 One of six hundred in name only, so it can't be much of an outlay. (7,6)
15 Isn't this a natural state, though associated with the fall. (4,4,5)
21 Put together what you might use to part your hair in one direction. (7)
22 A slight sinking in the heart of such, but a girl might like to get it. (7)
23 Not what they do to put bubbles in wine, and you can take off from there! (7)
24 See 14 down
25 Bird disease? (6)
26 A follower should at least be able to find her in a depression. (7)

DOWN

1 In time, would one save such as the Mets? (6)
2 White and blue man, perhaps. (7)
3 In part, what he got is more like extreme selfishness. (7)
4 Not necessarily a dog-bites-man story implied—and not quite natural curiosity. (5,8)
6 Is one not likely to see what the trouble is? (7)
7 The contents of late lie resting in the studio. (7)
8 Abandoned with the rest upset, indeed! (8)
10 See 1 across
14 and 24 across No obstacles for sledding, though graduates from New London might hope to make such a claim. (3,5,2,5)
16 Victorian boyfriend—take little notice with one who bogs things down! (7)
17 The pastor is on stage to show what the prayers are. (7)
18 It's probably painful for the listener. (7)
19 With three unequal sides, little Albert gets in at least part of the act. (7)
20 Old "Broken Hearts" publisher. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1849

ACROSS: 1 Schools; 5 Trips up; 9 Roomier; 10 Lothair; 11 Nears; 12 Professed; 14, 15 and 18 Good fellowship; 20, 22, 26, 6 and 1 down The Flowers that Bloom in the Spring; 21 and 32 A mess of pottage; 23 Cats; 28 Flows; 29 Retrace; 30 Storage; 31 Suckers. DOWN: 2 Hooray; 3 Omissions; 4 Striped; 5 Told off; 7 Snapshot; 8 Paradise; 13 Aim; 16 Late frost; 17 Who; 18 Hatteras; 19 Pedantic; 23 Comes up; 24 Sonata; 25 Essene; 27 Brake.

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A Third Interview With The 115-Year-Old Magazine

Your mellow wisdom, gained from your 115 years of weekly existence, has enlightened us in the past. Now I'm wondering if there is some secret of the meaning of life that you would like to share with us?

Secrets? You want secrets, go file a Freedom of Information Act request. I don't believe in secrets. That's why I proposed the Spy Library.

The Spy Library? What's that?

It's an open-shelf library containing all of our current secrets. It would be open to all spies who can prove a sincere interest in espionage. They could search through the card catalogues and check out any secrets they like.

But I don't understand. Wouldn't that be helping them in their work?

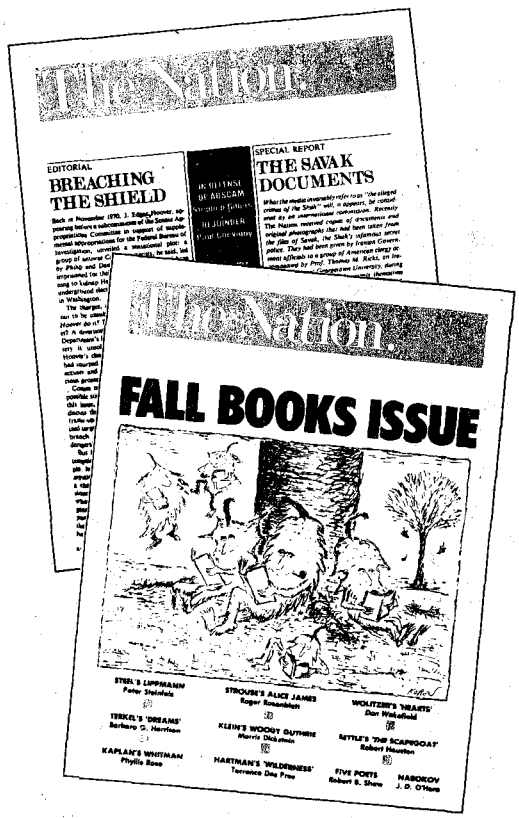
Oh, no. You see, under the present classification system the Government does the spies' work for them. Now our secrets are labeled according to their importance—Top Secret, for the really big stuff, down to Confidential, for small-potatoes secrets. In the Spy Library, the foreign agents would have to figure out for themselves what's important.

I see. Do you have any other ideas like that?

Oh sure. All the time. My Swiss missile bank, for example. It would solve the problem of stationing U.S. missiles in Europe. We'd deposit them in Swiss bank accounts, and the trusty Swiss bankers would hide them in various Alps. As everybody knows, you can trust a Swiss banker to keep a secret. So the Europeans wouldn't have to worry about missiles on their soil and the Soviet Union wouldn't feel threatened.

I thought The Nation was a serious magazine of current affairs and the arts. Those ideas sound like Mad magazine.

My friend, it's a mad world. Sometimes the most outrageous ideas make more sense than what our Government is selling. Take the MX missile. Only Alfred E. Neuman could have dreamed that one up. Most of the time, though, I just try to make sense out of the world as it comes. And if *you* subscribe to *The Nation*, maybe you can too. Just fill out that handy coupon over on the right.



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